

FIS ADAMNAN

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

With Introduction, Text, and Commentary
Based on the Version of the Lebor na Huidre

A Dissertation submitted in
partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in
the Faculty of Arts at the
University of Edinburgh

by

James Joseph Colwell, B.A., M.A.,

June, 1952.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	1 - vii.
List of Abbreviations	1a - 5a
Introduction	
Part I: Text and Arrangement	1 - 19
Part II: Eschatological Theory	20 - 29
Part III: The Seven Heavens	30 - 42
Part IV: Imagery	43 - 51
Part V: Miscellaneous Topics	52 - 58
Part VI: Previous Study of the Vision	59 - 64
The Prologue according to LB	65 - 73
Text, Translations and Commentary based on LU-version	74 - 306
Appendices	307 - 313
Bibliography	1b - 14b.

PREFACE.

In western apocalyptic literature, the Vision of Adamnan holds a unique position. Though other visions, contemporary or prior, may give analogs for some of the material it contains, there is no vision which offers exact parallels to the most striking elements in this Irish vision. One may read in vain the Visions of Fursa, Drythelm, Laisren, Tundale, the Monk of Wenlock, Owayne Miles, Frate Alberico, and a dozen others, in an attempt to find a similarly conceived Other World. By this fact alone the Vision of Adamnan attracts attention: it is in such marked contrast to the general trend of western apocalyptic.

This contrast may be detected in two outstanding features. First, the presentation of heaven as a realm of light, with God described as a burning fire, surrounded by choirs of fiery angels. The traditional paradise, with its sensual delights has been eliminated. Three features of sense-pleasure remain: light, fragrance, song. There is no celestial Eden, no rivers of milk or honey, no tree of life. Instead we find obscure symbolic figures: the three birds on the throne, the three zones about the Divine Crown, the Crystal Veil about the Flaming Throne, the precious stones, the flaming jewels, the fiery circle.

This region of light, fragrance and music is reached after an arduous ascent of the seven heavens - a motif which brings us back into the Gnostic world of the inimical archons who hinder the soul's progress during its return to the realms of light. How did this obscure theory of the soul's ascent survive? What brought such a tradition into a tenth or eleventh century Irish vision? Such questions naturally present themselves to the reader. The seven-heavens sections constitute the second outstanding feature of the vision.

These two features, the heaven of light and the ascent of the soul present two major problems of investigation. However, there are many other which remain. There is the mysterious group of souls mentioned in sect. 14A who are excluded from the city. Then, too, the bridge-episode of section 22 provides problems of interpretation, for it complicates our attempts to gain an accurate idea of the route followed by the soul after death. Furthermore, the eschatological theories implied in this vision are quite different from what we would expect in western Europe during the tenth or eleventh century.

The commentary which is found on pages 74-306 attempts to throw some light on this obscure piece by subjecting each motif to a minute analysis whereby the individual

strands of thought and pattern are traced to analogs or possible sources in other literature belonging to the same genre. This method has been fairly successful, for practically every motif can be clarified by comparison with similar ones in other visions and apocalypses. It is the combination of so many divergent streams of apocalyptic that makes the Vision of Adamnan so unique. Several schools of apocalyptic thought seem to have been combined to produce it. This combination has been made more problematic by the poor condition of the text, which shows unmistakable signs of having been reduced in content and reworked.

Still, there is a certain unity manifest throughout the vision. The author did make an attempt to work his materials into a whole. The commentary frequently calls attention to these signs of unity, for a consistent interpretation of the vision is possible only if the piece constitutes a unit. I believe there is sufficient evidence in the vision to justify this approach, and therefore I have not developed a theory of interpolations to explain awkward passages. Where no completely satisfying answer to certain problems is found, I have preferred to leave the problem rather than explain it away by emending the text. With the limited amount of source-material available it

would be too much to expect a perfect elucidation of every motif.

The method followed in the commentary is designed to show the derivation of the principal motifs from the great body of apocryphal literature which was known directly or indirectly during the early Middle Ages. The material is so rich that selection was necessary. Other parallels, and perhaps better ones could have been quoted, yet the ones selected will generally be found sufficiently helpful in interpreting the vision. No attempt has been made to derive the analogs from a limited area. I have, however, tried to stay within the general literary genre, i.e. the vision and the apocalypse. The Vision of Adamnan determines by itself the principal fields to be explored. Thus the reference to the vision of the apostles on the day of the death of Mary reveals a knowledge of an obscure Syriac apocryphon. The symbols and images of the heaven of light point to the Zervanism of the Persian sacred books, the *ḥayyūn*-literature of the Jews, the *ḥayyūn* of the Mandaitic books. The seven-heavens apocryphon takes us into the world of Gnostic mysticism, especially into that most Gnostic of religions, Mandaeism, where we find the doctrine of the Mattartas so well developed. The bridge-episode shows some relationship with the Cinvat bridge of Parsism, and the Sirat

of the Mohammedans, while the hell-sections possess a long ancestry reaching back even to the Sumerian account of Inanna's descent to the Nether World. It is to this great field of speculative literature that the Vision of Adamnan belongs; it provides one link in the great chain of apocalyptic writings which, in Christian circles, extend from the Apocalypse of Peter to the Divina Commedia. It is largely a traditional literature, deriving bits from every region of religious speculation on the other world.

It is the traditionalism of apocalyptic which provides us with contradictory motifs side by side in the same writing. To search for an absolute unity of thought and description is futile. Different ages bring different viewpoints, conflicting opinions, new theories. These are imposed upon the traditional material, a new synthesis is attempted, but the contradictions remain. We find this trait in all great religious literatures, and it should not surprise us to meet it in Adamnan. Placed in their proper perspective the contradictory elements can be explained and their readaptation demonstrated. The commentary tries to achieve this for the Vision of Adamnan.

In the Introduction several matters are treated. They may be listed as follows: the text of the vision and the arrangement of the Commentary, the eschatological theory

of FA, the Seven Heavens, the imagery of the vision, miscellaneous topics, and previous critical work on the vision. The Introduction, Part I, includes a complete translation of FA. This will enable the reader to get an impression of the piece as a whole before approaching the commentary, where the text has been broken up into sections to facilitate systematic comment.

It should be stressed here that in no instance is the word source used in the sense of direct or immediate source. No such source for Adamnan has yet come to light. When in the course of the Introduction the Mandaitic Sacred Books, e.g. Ginza and the Book of John are used to provide illustrations and analogs this does not mean that I regard the Vision of Adamnan as Mandaean, nor do I suppose that the author of FA was directly acquainted with the ܡܢܕܝܬܝܬܐ images of the ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܫܘܥ-literature. All that is implied is that similar material is preserved in FA. The study is primarily a comparative one, and does not seek to discover how those ideas and motifs were preserved in Ireland. Such investigation I intend to leave to a later work treating of the entire body of apocalyptic material extant in Old and Middle Irish texts.

Furthermore, the choice of one type of literature for illustrative purposes, does not mean that other possible

sources are rejected. For example: in tracing the representation of the Deity as a burning fire, I have cited a passage from 2 EN. A similar image could have been derived from Plotinus' description of God as the focus of a fire, from Persian descriptions of the realm of light, from the Mandaean ܕܢܗܡܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ , from Ezekiel 1, and from many other loci. The passage from 2 EN. has been given because it possesses the closest verbal resemblance to the description in Adamnan. The same applies to many other analogs cited. The text is so obscure in parts that sometimes material with only the remotest bearing on the vision has been cited. Thus, in describing the seventh heaven, the precious stones there have been related in function to the אֲבִי-שׁ of Ezekiel 28, for the Ezekiel-account of the הַר-אֲבִי-שׁ provides the only well known example of a paradise which imparts $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ by its fiery stones.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AMG: Apocalypsis Mariae Graece. The Apocalypse of the Virgin, ed. M. R. James from MS. Bodl. Auct. E 5, 12 in TS II.3 (Apocrypha Anecdota), Cambridge, 1893, pp. 109-126.
- AP: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford 1913. All references are to the second volume: Pseudepigrapha.
- APA: The Akhmim-Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter, as edited by Albrecht Dieterich, Nekyia, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 2-9.
- ARW: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Freiberg i.B., Leipzig, Tübingen, 1898 seqq.
- 4 Baruch: Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ or 4 Baruch, ed. M. R. James TS V.1 (Apocrypha Anecdota II), Cambridge 1897, pp. 84-94.
- BAV: The Book of Arda Viraf, ed. by Martin Haug and E. W. West, London 1872.
- C: MS. 41, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- CCC: Echtra Clerech Cholaim Cille, The Adventures of St. Columba's Clerics, ed. WS, in RC XXVI (1905), pp. 132-167.
- DBFN: Da Bron Flatha Nime, The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven, ed. G. Dottin in RC, XXI (1900), pp. 349-387. References are also made (by line-number) to the fragment of DBFN found in LU (ed. Best and Bergin) pp. 17a-18a.
- 1 En: The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch, translated from the editor's Ethiopic text, and edited by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1912.
- 2 En: The Second Book of Enoch, or The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, translated by W.R. Morfill, and edited with introduction, notes, and indices by

R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896. 2 En. is used when Charles' ed. is cited, SBH when Bonwetsch's translation is cited.

- 3 En: 3 Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, ed. Hugo Odeberg, Cambridge, 1928.
- FA: Fis Adamnan, The Vision of Adamnan. The text used in this study is that of the Lebor na Huidre as published in the diplomatic edition of R.I. Best and Osborn Bergin, Dublin, RIA, 1929.
- FA 1,2, etc.: Fis Adamnan, section 1, section 2, etc. The section-numbers are derived from the edition of Windisch.
- FAH: The hell-sections of FA, i.e. sections 21A-31C.
- GFE: The Gizeh Fragment of 1 En. as ed. by Charles, The Book of Enoch, Appendix 1, pp.273-304.
- 7HA: The Seven Heavens Apocryphon. The various fragments of this apocryphon are referred to by the letters K, C, M, N, LF. These symbols are explained in the Introduction, p. 42.
- HE: Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. Oxford, 1896.
- IPD: An Irish Precursor of Dante, by C.S. Boswell, London, 1908.
- IVO: St. John D. Seymour, Irish Visions of the Other World, London, n.d. (SPCK). First published 1930.
- JTS: Journal of Theological Studies.
- LB: Lebor Brecc, a MS. of the fourteenth century, belonging to RIA. It contains a version of FA, edited together with the LU-version by E. Windisch in Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 169-196. All references to LB pertain to this edition by Windisch.
- LF: The Seven Heavens Apocryphon as found in LFF.

- LFF: Liber Flavus Fergusiorum.
- LU: Lebor na Huidre, The Book of the Dun Cow, ed. by R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin, RIA, Dublin, 1929. The text of FA used in this study is based on this edition. FA occupies pages 27a-31b (according to the modern foliation of the MS. used in making the lithographic facsimile of 1870).
- MPG: Migne's Patrologia Graeca.
- MPL: Migne's Patrologia Latina.
- NTA: E. Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904.
- OSA: Opera Omnia Sancti Augustini, opera et studio Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri. Editio Parisina altera, emendata et aucta. Paris, 1835. Vol. IV to which references are made, contains the Enarrationes in Psalmos.
- P: The Paris MS. of FA, BN, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1, edited by J. Vendryes, RC XXX (1909, pp. 349-383).
- Pl: Charles Plummer. Used to cite the pages of Plummer's edition of HE.
- PRIA: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.
- RC: Revue Celtique.
- RIA: Royal Irish Academy.
- SBE: Sacred Books of the East.
- SBH: The Slavic Book of Henoch, as translated by G. N. Bonwetsch, Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs, Leipzig, 1922 (TU, 44, 2). When Bonwetsch's translation is cited, the reference is marked SBH. Otherwise the abbreviation 2 En. is used.
- SE: Secla na Esergi, Tidings of the Resurrection.

Citations are from LU, pp. 34a-37b (lines 2495-2763).

- SEHI: James F. Kenney, The Sources for the Early History of Ireland. Vol. I: Ecclesiastical, New York, 1929.
- SLB: Scela Lai Bratha, Tidings of Doomsday, ed. by WS, RC IV (1880), pp. 246-257. References are also made by line numbers to the text of LU, pp. 31b-34a (lines 2303-2493).
- SSE: Solarljod from the Saemundr Edda.
- TB: Talmud Babli.
- TMS: Transitus Mariae Syriace. A Syriac Version of the Transitus as edited and translated by A. S. Lewis in Studia Sinaitica No. 11, London, 1902. Syriac text, pp. 22-115; translation, p. 12-69.
- TS: Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, Cambridge, 1891 seqq.
- TU: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Alchristlichen Literatur. Leipzig, 1883 seqq.
- VMA: Visio Mariae Aethiopice. Apocalypsis seu Visio Mariae Virginis, edited from the Aethiopic MSS. by Marius Chaine in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Series Prima, Tomus VII. The Aethiopic text is on pages 53-80; the Latin translation appears on pp. 45-68.
- VPG: Visio Pauli Graece. Apocalypsis Pauli, as ed. by Tischendorff, Apoc. Apocr., pp. 34-69.
- VPL: Visio Pauli Latine. The Latin Version of the Visio Pauli, ed. from BN, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1631, by M. R. James in TS, II.3 (Apocrypha Anecdota), Cambridge, 1893, pp. 1-42.
- VPS: Visio Pauli Syriace. The references are to the Syriac version quoted by Tischendorff in his edition of the Apocalypse of Paul (VPG).

- Will. Rudolph Willard, Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies, in Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, ed. Max Förster, Vol. 30, Leipzig, 1935.
- WS: Whitley Stokes.
- YBL: The Yellow Book of Lecan.
- ZCP: Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie.

Quotations from the Latin Vulgate (including the deuterocanonical books and 3 and 4 Esdras) are taken from Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis, Sixti Quinti Iussu Recognita atque Edita, Francofurti, a. M., MDCCCXXVI. This is a reprint of the Roman Edition of 1593.

Quotations and references to the Hebrew Bible are based on Rudolf Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, Editio Quarta, Stuttgartiae, 1949.

Dante-passages are taken from the Oxford edition of the Divina Commedia: La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, Nuovamente riveduta nel testo dal Dr. E. Moore, con indice dei nomi propri compilato da Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1900.

INTRODUCTION

Part I: The Text and the Arrangement of the Commentary.

The Vision of Adamnan (Fís Adamnán) is preserved in whole or in part in the following manuscripts:

- a. LU, pp.27-31.
- b. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., 4190-200, ff.39-46.
A copy of LU.
- c. LB, pp. 253-256.
- d. LFF, I, Part 11, ff, 3v-6v.
- e. BN, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1, c.A.D.1518,
ff. 95 sqq.
- f. Book of Lismore, ff. 34v-35, a fragment
appended to the Life of Brendan.
- g. YBL, col. 709 (p. 87b) - col. 713 (p. 89b)
where it has been incorporated into the
Echtra Clerech Cholaim Cille (CCC).

The text used in the following study is that of LU. LB, P, and CCC have been used for variant readings. The LU-text is apparently the oldest, but only a general statement of the age of the vision can be made. A safe opinion is that it was composed about the year 1000. The limited internal evidence for dating provided by the text is treated in the pertinent sections of the Commentary.

In arranging the text, the section-numbers used by Windisch have been retained, but the paragraphing has been changed, and, in some instances, minor divisions indicated by

capital letters have been introduced. The spelling and accentuation adhere rigidly to the text as given in the diplomatic edition of LU by Best and Bergin. Obvious corrections, as indicated by Best and Bergin in footnotes, have been made silently. The abbreviation γ is always rendered by *ocus*, and \bar{im} is expanded to *immorro*. \ddot{t} (vel) is rendered by *nó*. The capitalisation and punctuation is made in accordance with modern standards. The variants of the other MSS are cited in the Commentary only when they throw some light on the matters therein discussed.

The translation has been made afresh. I have compared the translations of WS¹ and Hoswell², and, in several instances, noted where my rendering differs from theirs. The definitions of words are derived mainly from Windisch's Wörterbuch, but the other available lexicographical sources have been used in the case of difficult or obscure words. I have had the scholarly guidance of Professor Kenneth H. Jackson in dealing with difficult passages. The translation is as literal as possible, my intention being to give an accurate impression of the Irish text to the reader who may be unacquainted with the original language. When, in the interests of intelligibility, a

1. Fraser's Magazine, February 1871, pp. 184-194.
 2. IPD, pp. 28-47.

strict literal interpretation has been impractical, I have indicated this in the commentary. Fortunately, there are but few textual problems in the LU version, and, consequently, there is but little discussion of readings, variants, and emendations in the Commentary.

Within the Commentary, the material is arranged in the following way. The Irish text is given first, a section (or subsection) at a time, followed by the English translation. Both text and translation have been set in wider margins than the Commentary. All pertinent bibliographical indications are inserted into the Commentary; otherwise, a complicated system of footnotes would have been necessary to take care of the numerous references. The abbreviations used are explained in the List of Abbreviations which follows the Table of Contents. With the exception of the Preface, the pagination is in Arabic numerals throughout.

In the Bibliography the works consulted are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the author. Though necessarily selective, this bibliography includes works of basic importance for understanding the numerous problems of doctrine, motif, and imagery met with in FA. It is hoped that the titles will provide a helpful reading list for those who may wish to do further comparative work in early

medieval apocalyptic literature.

In the Commentary itself, I have preferred to quote prime sources, and in the original language wherever possible. This applies especially to Latin and Greek quotations. Significant words and phrases in Hebrew have been supplied, using litterae quadratae except in the case of aleph, for which I use the symbol \aleph (modern rabbinic cursive). The Massoretic punctuation is added to biblical words. Mandaitic words are transcribed by the Hebrew alphabet, the nota relationis being indicated by a horizontal stroke over daleth, thus $\overline{\text{ד}}$.

In the transcription of Anglo-Saxon and Norse words no attempt has been made to write the diphthong æ ; instead, the separate letters a and e are used. The interdental spirants are represented by p and \underline{d} . They are not used phonetically, but as they are found in the MSS quoted, where there is no accurate distinction between the voiced and voiceless sounds.

In the phonetic transcription of Hebrew and Mandaitic words, as well as in other languages quoted, accuracy has had to be sacrificed because of the limitations of typescript. Where essential, diacritical marks have been supplied with the pen. The spirantic pronunciation of the litterae מפדפדפד is indicated by a horizontal [stroke]

stroke under the letter, except in the case of spirant ך , which is transcribed by th. Thus הֶיְכָלוֹת is rendered by hekaloth, and מֶרְכָבָה is rendered by merkaba. The occasional transcription of Mandaitic words is not purely consonantal, but supplies the vowels implied by the scriptio plena of the texts. Thus שְׁמִיָּשׁ is transcribed as šamiš.

References to the Babylonian Talmud, the Midrašim, and other rabbinica follow the accepted method and should provide no difficulty. References to standard classical and patristic authors are generally made by citing the book and line, or the book and paragraph, without reference to a specific edition. It seemed a useless complication of bibliographical references to include a particular edition for each reference when any standard edition will give the locus cited. The actual editions used are listed in the Bibliography at the end of the work.

In order to enable the reader to gain an impression of the Vision as a whole before approaching the commentary, there follows a complete translation of the text according to the LU-version.

The Vision of Adamnan.

1. Lofty and wonderful is the Lord of creatures, and great and marvellous is His strength and His power. He is mild and kind, merciful and loving, for He draws into heaven unto Himself

the charitable and the merciful, the meek and the considerate; but He carries off, and plunges into hell the impious, unprofitable assembly of the wicked. He gives the mysteries and various rewards of heaven to the blessed, and bestows an abundance of various sufferings upon the children of death.

2. Very many, indeed, are the saints and the just of the Lord of creatures, and apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ to whom have been revealed the mysteries and secrets of the Kingdom of Heaven in this manner, and the very golden rewards of the just and to whom, moreover, were revealed the various punishments of hell together with those who are therein. Indeed, there was revealed to Peter the Apostle the rectangular vessel, with four cords upon it, which was let down from heaven: as sweet as any music was the listening to it. Moreover, Paul the Apostle was raised up to the third heaven so that he heard the ineffable words of the angels, and the marvelous conversation of the heavenly family. Furthermore, on the day of the death of Mary, all the apostles were transported so that they saw the pains and piteous sufferings of the unfortunate men, when the Lord commanded the angels of the West to open up the earth before the Apostles, in order that they might see and contemplate hell with its many torments, as He Himself promised this to them a long time before His passion.

3. Finally, then, that which is spoken here was revealed to Adamnan u Thinne, a great scholar of the western world, when his soul departed from his body on the feast of John the Baptist and was brought to the heavenly kingdom with the angels of heaven and to hell with its rabble host.

Now, when his soul separated from his body, the angel of its guarding appeared to it immediately, and took it with him to see first the Kingdom of Heaven.

4. The first land they arrived at was the land of the saints. That is a fruitful and lumi-

nous land. There are various wonderful groups there with tunics of white linen upon them, with shining white hoods upon their heads. The saints of the eastern part of the world are assembled apart in the eastern part of the land of the saints. The saints of the West, moreover, are in the western part of the same land. The saints of the northern part of the world, and those of the South are in two large groups in the South and the North. Therefore, everyone who is in the land of the saints can easily hear the music and contemplate the vessel in which are the nine orders of heaven according to their degrees and their rank.

5. Sometimes the saints sing a marvellous music, praising God; at other times they listen to the music of the heavenly family - for the saints need to do nothing but hear the music to which they listen, and contemplate the brightness which they behold, and sate themselves with the fragrance which is in the land.

A marvellous Prince is there, face to face with them in the South-East. A crystal veil is between them (and Him), and there is a golden porch to the South of Him. Through this they behold the form and separation of the heavenly family. Moreover, there is no veil nor obscurity between the heavenly family and the saints, but they (the saints) are always in their presence and vicinity on the side facing them. Furthermore, there is a circle of fire round about this land, and every one (may go) in and out, and it harms not.

6. The twelve Apostles, and Mary the Virgin are assembled apart about the powerful Lord. The patriarchs, the prophets and the disciples of Jesus are near the Apostles. Other holy virgins are on the right hand of Mary, and there is no great interval between them (and her).

Children and youths surround them on every side, and the music of the bird-flock of the heavenly family entertains them. Bright bands of the guardian angels of the souls are serving

and attending among these assemblies in the presence of the King forever. No one indeed, in this present life, can describe or relate those assemblies as they are in truth. The groups and bands which are in the land of the saints, as we have said, do be remaining in this great glory until the great assembly of the judgment, until the just Judge, on the day of sentence, arranges them in their stations and places, in which they will be seeing the face of God without veil and without shadow between them (and Him) for eternity.

7. Moreover, though the brightness and the light in the Land of the Saints may be great and vast, a thousand times more vast is the splendour which is in the plain of the heavenly family about the throne of the Lord Himself. This throne is an ornate chair with four columns of precious stone under it. Were there no entertainment for anyone except the harmonious concinnity of these four columns, it would be enough glory and beauty for him. Moreover, three birds rest on the throne in the presence of the king, and their minds are on their creator throughout eternity: that is their task. They celebrate the eight hours praising and magnifying the Lord, with the chanting of archangels accompanying them in response thereto. The singing is begun by the birds and the archangels, and then the entire heavenly family, both saints and virgins, answer them.

8. Over the head of the Dignified One in His royal chair there is a great arch like an ornate helmet or a kingly diadem. If human eyes were to look at it they would melt immediately. Three circles are about it, between it and the host, and what they are is unknown by description. Six thousand soldiers in the forms of horses and birds are about the fiery chair which burns ceaselessly and endlessly.

9. It does not come within the power of anyone to describe the mighty Lord who is in that royal seat - unless He Himself should do it, or unless it were spoken by the orders of heaven. For no one would tell His glowing heat and His

power, His ruddiness and His exceeding brilliance, His brightness and His beauty, His wisdom and His stability, the number of His angels and archangels who sing music unto Him. Punctually, His numerous messengers go to Him and from Him from every group, bearing very short messages, announcing His sweetness and great mildness to some, His rigour and His great bitterness to others.

10. Should anyone contemplate Him from East or West, from North or South, He will find on every side a majestic countenance, seven times brighter than the sun. He will not see, however, a human form possessing a head or feet, but a fiery mass, burning eternally, and everyone in fear and trembling before Him. Heaven and earth are filled with His brilliance, and there is a brightness about Him like that of a king's star. There are three thousand different songs from each choir which is singing about Him. As sweet as many songs of the world is each of these songs in itself separately.

11. Thus then is the city in which that royal throne is, and there are seven crystal walls of various hues about it, each wall being higher than the other. The platform and lowest base of the city are made of white crystal with the image of the sun thereon, and blue, purple, green, and every other colour have been mingled therein.

12. Those who dwell in this city are a gentle people, very mild and very meek, lacking no good qualities. For only virgins or pilgrims zealous for God reach it and dwell in it for ever. Moreover, it is difficult to understand how their arrangement and placing is accomplished, for neither the back nor the side of any one of them faces the other, but the ineffable power of the Lord has arranged and disposed them face to face in rows and equal crowns round about the royal chair, with splendour and beauty, and all have their faces towards God.

13. A crystal chancel-screen is between every two choirs, with superior ornamentation of red

gold and silver upon it, with excellent rows of precious stones mingled with extraordinary gems and with thrones and crowns of carbuncle against that chancel screen. Moreover, three precious stones possessing a gentle sound and sweet music, are between every two principal groups, their upper portion being burning lamps. Seven thousand angels in the form of great candles brighten and illuminate the city round about; seven thousand others in the very centre are burning through long ages around the royal city. The perfume from the top of a single one of those candles would satisfy as food does the human beings of this world gathered into one place, no matter how numerous they may be.

- 14A. Those of the men of the world who do not reach this city after their life, and unto whom is assigned a dwelling in it after sentence of judgment have a restless and changeful dwelling on heights and hills, in swamps and rivers until judgment comes for them.

(lacuna)

Thus, then, are situated those bands and those groups, and the guardian angel of each soul which is among them is engaged in ministering to it and serving it.

- 14B. Before them, in the principal entrance to the city, there is a veil of fire and a veil of ice, and they clash together throughout the ages. Moreover, the sound and echoing noises of these veils as they clash together is heard throughout the world. Fear and trembling insupportable would seize the seed of Adam, if they were to hear this noise. However, on the side of the heavenly family, only a very small amount of this rough thunder is heard, and it is as sweet as any music.

- 15A. Therefore, vast and wonderful to describe is the plan of that city. What we have related of its varied orders and marvels is only a small portion of much.

15B.

It is rare for a soul, after commerce and co-habitation with the flesh, with its sleep and its sloth and its liberty, and its prosperity, to strive for and go unto the throne of the creator, unless it come with experienced angels. For the ascent of the seven heavens is difficult for no one is easier than the other. For there are six protecting gates before the human race until it reaches the kingdom of heaven. Furthermore, a doorkeeper and guardian from the heavenly family has been appointed to protect each of these gates.

15C.

Now the door of the Heaven which is nearest this world has the archangel Michael set over it, and near him are two youths with iron lashes in their laps with which to beat and whip sinners, so that sinners may there meet the first reproach and the first suffering of the path they are treading (i.e. going).

16.

Moreover, the door of the second heaven has the Archangel Ariel as its guardian, and two virgins are near him, holding fiery whips in their hands. With these they beat sinners across their faces and their eyes. Near this door is placed a fiery stream with a mighty flame upon it. Now Abersetus is the name of the angel who guards this stream which tests and washes the souls of the saints from the quantity of crime which clings to them, so that they obtain a purity and brilliance equal to the brightness of stars. Furthermore, there is a bright spring placed there, with bloom and fragrance, to purify and solace the souls of the just. However, it torments and burns the souls of sinners, and diminishes nothing for them; it is rather an increase of pain and penance which reaches them there. With immense sorrow and grief do sinners rise up from it, the just, however, with joy and extreme happiness, (rise up from it) to proceed unto the door of the third heaven.

17A.

A fiery furnace burns eternally there. Its flame extends twelve thousand cubits in height. The souls of the just pass through this furnace in the twinkling of an eye, but

it bakes and burns the souls of sinners for twelve years, until, thereafter, the guardian angel carries them unto the fourth door.

17B. Thus, then, is the entrance-door of the fourth heaven, and there is a fiery stream about it, like the preceding stream. A flaming wall surrounds it. The breadth of its fire is estimated as 12,000 cubits. The souls of the just walk through it as though it did not even exist, but it holds the souls of sinners for a period of twelve years in misery and punishment, until the guardian angel takes them to the door of the fifth heaven.

18A. There, too, is a fiery stream, but it is different from the other streams, for there is a peculiar whirlpool in the middle of that stream which turns about the souls of sinners, and holds them fast for sixteen years. However, the just cross it immediately, without any delay. When it is time to release the sinners from it, the angel beats the stream with a hard whip of a stony nature, and lifts up the souls on the tip of the whip.

18B. Then Michael, after that, takes the souls unto the door of the sixth heaven. However, neither pain nor torment is meted out to the souls in that gate, but they are illumined there with the light and brilliance of precious stones. Thereafter Michael goes unto the angel of the Trinity, so that they, one on either side, may admit the soul into the presence of God.

19. Vast and boundless is the joy of the heavenly family and of the Lord Himself at the soul at that time, provided that it is an innocent and just soul. If, however, the soul is unjust and imperfect, it receives harshness and severity from the powerful Lord, and He says to the angels of heaven: Oh angels of Heaven, carry off with you this impious soul, and deliver it into the hand of Lucifer, to be plunged and suffocated in the depths of hell for eternity.

20A. Thereupon that unfortunate soul is sep-

arated with fear, bitterness and terror from the presence of the kingdom of heaven and the face of God.

20B. Then it sends forth a sigh which is heavier than every other sigh, going to face the devil after seeing the delights of the kingdom of heaven. Then is it separated from the protection of the archangels with whom it came unto heaven.

20C. Moreover, then it is that twelve fiery dragons swallow down each soul, one after another, until the lowest dragon hurls it from himself into the mouth of the Devil. Then does it receive the plenitude of all evil in the presence of the devil throughout eternity.

21A. When the guardian angel had revealed to the soul of Adamnan these visions of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the first adventures of each soul after it has left its body, he then took it with him to visit lowest hell, and the abundance of its pains and tortures and sufferings.

21B. This is the first land it reached: a black, scorched land, void and parched, with no pain at all in it. A valley filled with fire borders on it on the farther side. Its lowest portion is black; the middle and top portion are red. Eight beasts are there, their eyes like burning coals.

22. Over the valley is a very great bridge. It extends from one edge to the other. It is high in the middle, but its two ends are lower. Three groups try to pass it, but all do not achieve it. For one of these groups the bridge is broad from beginning to end, so that they pass over the fiery glen completely unharmed, without terror or fear. For the second group the bridge is narrow at the beginning, when they attempt to cross it, but broad at the end, so that they get across the same valley after great danger. However, the last group

finds the bridge broad at the beginning, but straight and narrow at the end, so that they fall from its middle into the same dangerous valley, into the jaws of the eight burning beasts there who make their dwelling in the valley.

23. These are the people for whom that path was easy: the chaste, zealous penitents, those who willingly suffered red-martyrdom for God. The group for whom that path was narrow in the beginning but broad at the end consists of those who are forced of necessity to do the will of God, and who then turn their necessity into voluntary service of God. Those for whom the bridge was broad in the beginning and narrow at the end consists of sinners who listen to the preaching of the word of God, but do not fulfill it after hearing it.

24. There are, moreover, very large groups in distress on the shore of eternal pain which borders on that lightless land on the far side. In alternate hours the pain ebbs from them and then returns over them. Those who are in this situation are the people whose good and evil are equal, and on the day of judgment, judgment will be passed among them, and their good will drown their evil on that day, and they will be brought unto the harbour of life, into the presence of God, forever.

25. There is another large crowd in the vicinity of those people, and vast is their torment. It is thus that they are: bound to fiery pillars. There is a wall of fire about them reaching up to their chins. Fiery chains in the form of snakes are around their waists. Their faces are blazing from the torment. Those who are in this torment are sinners, i.e. slayers of kinsmen, destroyers of the church of God, merciless Krenachs who are in the presence of the relics of the saints, in charge of the gifts and tithes of the church, and who make personal possessions of this wealth rather than use it for the guests and the needy of the Lord.

26. There are other large groups there standing eternally in jet-black mud up to their waists. Short icy hoods are upon them. They do not rest nor do they pause for eternity, but that the girdles are burning them with cold and heat. Throngs of demons are around them, beating them on the head with the fiery clubs (which they hold) in their hands, and carrying on long arguments with them. All these groups have their faces turned to the North and a rough, bitter wind blows full in their faces, in addition to their other sufferings. Fiery red rains pour down upon them every night and every day, and they cannot avoid them, but must endure them eternally with weeping and groaning.

27A. Some of them have streams of fire in the holes of their faces. Others have nails of fire through their tongues. Others still have nails of fire through their heads from one side to the other. These are the ones who are in this torment: thieves, liars, traitors, slanderers, robbers, plunderers, judges who give false judgments, contenders, witches, female satirists, bandits and men of learning who preach heresy.

27B. There is another large crowd on islands in the midst of the sea of fire. There is a silver wall about them made from their garments and from their alms. They are the people who practice charity without neglect, but who, on the other hand, remain in laxity and in the luxury of their flesh until the point of death, and their alms protect them in the midst of the sea of fire and after the judgment they are sent unto the harbour of life.

28. Moreover, there is another large group there, having about them cloaks extending to the ground. Their lamenting and crying are heard throughout the firmament. An incalculable multitude of demons is choking them. These demons hold stinking raw dogs in their hands and they command them to devour and consume the sinners. About their necks are fiery red collars constantly blazing. They are lifted

up to the firmament and plunged down into the depths of hell at alternate hours. (Children and youths are constantly lacerating them and hacking at them from all sides.) Those who are in this torment are: those in orders who transgressed their vows, hypocrites and liars who beguile and deceive the multitudes, who claim for themselves wonders and miracles which they do not know how to work for them. The children who are maiming the clerics are those who were entrusted to them for correction, but who were not corrected by them, nor reprimanded for their sins.

29A. There is another large group there moving ceaselessly from East to West across fiery stones, warring with hosts of demons. Numerous showers of flaming red arrows are shot at them by the demons. They go along running, without interruption or pause, till they reach black lakes and black rivers in order to quench those arrows therein. The cries and laments which the sinners make in those waters are miserable and piteous indeed, for it is an increase of pain which meets them there. Those who are in this torment are: unjust craftsmen, fullers and merchants; falsely-judging judges, both of the Jews and every other sort; impious kings, perverted Krenachs who are lustful; adulterous women and the panders who ruin them in their evil deeds.

29B. On the far side of the land of the torments there is a wall of fire which is seven times more fearful and more severe than the land of torments itself. However, souls do not dwell in it until the judgment, for, until the day of judgment it is the dominion of the demons only.

30. Woe unto him who is in those torments, in cohabitation with the family of the devil. Woe unto him who does not protect himself against that family. Woe unto him who shall have as his lord a violent, despicable, demon. Woe unto him who shall be listening to the cries

and loud laments of the souls as they groan and beseech the Lord to bring quickly for them the day of judgment, so they may find out if they will receive any respite in the judgment, for, until the judgment, they do not get any rest except three hours every Sunday. Woe unto him for whom this region is eternally his proper habitat. This is how it is: pierced, thorny mountains are there, bare parched plains, and stinking lakes full of beasts, rough and sandy earth, exceedingly uneven and icy. Upon its surface are broad fiery stones. Great seas with very fearful storms on them are there. In those seas is the home and dwelling of the Devil for ever. Four very large rivers extend over its surface: a river of fire, a river of snow, a river of poison, and a river of dark, black water. The vehement throngs of demons bathe themselves in these streams after their carnival and sport (consisting in) the tormenting of the souls.

31A. While the hosts of saints of the heavenly family sing with gladness and joy the harmonious choir-song of the eight hours, praising the Lord, then do the souls of the damned pour forth piteous and sad outcries as they are being interminably beaten by throngs of demons. These are the pains and torments which the guardian angel revealed to the soul of Adamnan after it had visited the kingdom of heaven.

31B. Thereafter the soul was carried in the twinkling of an eye through the golden porch and through the crystal veil to the land of the saints. This is the first place to which it was brought when it had left its body.

31C. When it desired to stay and remain in that land, it heard behind it, through the veil, the voice of the angel who commanded it to return back again unto the same body whence it had departed, and to relate in assemblies and meetings and congregations of laymen and clerics the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, as the guardian angel had revealed them to it.

32.

This, then, is the teaching which Adamnan was accustomed to preach to the hosts from that time on as long as he lived. This is what he used to preach in the Great Assembly of the men of Ireland, when the Law of Adamnan was imposed upon the Gaels, and when women were liberated by Adamnan, and by Finnachta Fledach, the King of Ireland, and by the other nobles of Ireland.

This too was the first message which Patrick, son of Calpurnius, was accustomed to relate to those who were to believe in the Lord through his preaching, and who would receive his spiritual direction in the dawn of the Gospel: the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell.

The preaching most frequently done by Peter and Paul and the other apostles was this, i.e. the telling about the torments and rewards, as they were revealed to them in the same manner.

This is what Silvester, abbot of Rome, preached to Constantine, son of Helena, high king of the world in the assembly at which Rome was given to Paul and to Peter.

Moreover, Fabian, successor of Peter, preached this to Philip, son of Gordian, the king of the Romans when he believed in the Lord, and many others believed at that time. He was the first king of the Romans who believed in the Saviour, Jesus Christ.

33.

This is the subject which Elias is accustomed to relate to the souls of the just while he stands under the tree of life in Paradise. From the time when Elias opens the book for the instructing of the souls, the souls of the just come there in the form of shining-white birds (flying) towards him from every direction. First, he describes to them the rewards of the just, the delight and satisfactions of the Kingdom of Heaven, and during that time they are exceedingly joyful. However, he then tells them about the pains and torments of hell, and the

evils of the day of judgment, and very clearly upon his face, and on that of Enoch is sorrow expressed, so that they are the two sorrows of the kingdom of heaven. Then Elias closes the book, and the birds utter a great cry of lament, and press their wings against their bodies, so that streams of blood come out of them due to the fear of the pains of hell, and of the day of judgment.

34. If, now, the souls of the saints, unto whom has been assigned an eternal dwelling in the kingdom of heaven, make that lament, it is more fitting that the men of the world should shed even tears of blood upon thinking of the day of judgment and the pains of hell. Then will the Lord render unto every man in the world his due, viz. rewards for the just, and punishments for the sinners. Then, likewise, the sinners will be placed in the pit of eternal pain, upon which will be shut the lock of the word of God, out of the hatred of the Judge of the judgment, for ever. Moreover, the saints and the just, the people of charity and mercy, will be brought unto the right hand of God, to dwell eternally in the kingdom of heaven, i.e., a place in which they will be in that great glory, without age, without death, without end, without term, for ever.

35. Thus then is that city, i.e., a kingdom without vanity, pride, lying, detraction, deceit, without need for reconciliation, without shame, disgrace, dishonour, reproach, envy or arrogance.

A city without pestilence, sickness, poverty, nakedness, death, or extinction.

A city without hail, snow, wind, rain, noise, thunder, darkness, or cold.

A vast wonderful and pleasant kingdom, with joy, with brightness, with the fragrance of a full land, in which is the satisfaction of every delight.

FINIT, AMEN, FINIT.

PART II: Eschatological Theory.

In many respects it will be seen that the Vision of Adamnan shows relationship with ideas generally associated with eastern forms of Christianity. The Commentary demonstrates this fact in numerous places. What is true of imagery and motif is also true of the theory of the next life therein implied. In order to clarify this, a brief review of the eschatological theories of the Eastern Churches is¹ here given.

Eastern Christianity, in contrast to the Western Church, retained early Christian ideas about the future life. In early Christianity the sense of a *παρουσία* was very strong, and since the return of Christ and the Judgment was expected in the near future, the state of the soul after death was looked upon as a short period of waiting, and speculation on this "status intermedius" gained little attention. Everything preceding the Judgment was temporal and provisional. We find the concept of a particular judgment immediately after death,² it is true, but this judgment is also provisional. It is an

1. The most convenient collection of material is the work of Martin Jugie, Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesia Dissidentium, 4 vols, Paris 1926-1931. Vol. IV, pp. 1-202 treats of eschatology. The brief summary above is mainly based on texts quoted by Jugie.
2. Cf. inter al., Gregory of Nyssa, MPG XLVI, 168 (de Infantibus). The provisional nature of the particular judgment is stressed in FA. See esp. sections 6 and 29B.

anticipation of the Last Judgment, but it is not equivalent to it. Only with the last Judgment does the soul receive a decisive assignment to perfect beatitude or eternal damnation.

The particular judgment is presented under various forms. Sometimes it consists in the soul's own clear perception of its state,¹ including a fore-knowledge of the good or evil which awaits it. Other sources make this individual judgment a long process consisting in the ascent of the heavens during which the soul is examined and tried in various stations (τελώνια).² These stations are watched by ostiarii or τελωνάρχαι who accuse the soul of the sins it has committed, while the angels who accompany the soul praise its good works. Cyril of Alexandria describes this ascent at length.³ He mentions five τελώνια or stations

1. For the sinner Origen considered the judicial activity of the individual conscience equal to the torments of Gehenna. Cf. Jerome's summary of his teaching: Et voluti ex quibusdam seminibus in anima derelictis universa vitiorum seges exoritur, et quidquid feceramus in vita vel turpe vel impium, omnis eorum in conspectu nostro pictura describitur, ac praeteritas voluptates mens intuens conscientiae puni-tur ardore et poenitudinis stimulis confoditur (Ep. ad Avit. 7, MPL, XXII, 1065).
2. This ascent of the soul through the heavens, referred to in the Introduction and Commentary by the term Himmelsreise, plays an important part in FA, sections 15B-18B. For various illustrative texts see Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele", ARW IV (1901), pp. 136 ff; 229ff. With Bousset's views should be compared the theory of Dieterich in Eine Mithrasliturgie (1910), pp. 179-209.
3. In Homily XIV (περί ἐξόδου ψυχῆς), MPG LXXVII, cols. 1072-1089.

stations¹ which correspond to the five senses of man; other writers increase the number of stations to twenty-one,² or even forty.³ Such a Himmelsreise is mentioned in many of the Fathers.⁴ In FA the events of the ascent constitute the first adventures of the soul, the prelude to the immediate (but provisional) judgment of the seventh heaven.⁵

In some liturgical prayers of the Orthodox Church the perfection of the soul immediately after death seems to be implied,⁶ but the majority of orthodox theologians teach that whatever the beatitude or punishment of the departed may be, it is not yet the complete and final blessedness or damnation. The souls of the dead do experience an anticipation

1. The system in FA has five penal stations, but they are different from Cyril's *τελῶνία*. However, the original plan of FA probably included the idea of testing the souls in the various stations. The wording of sect. 16 implies a "testing" followed by purification.
2. See Jugie, *loc. cit.*, IV, 26.
3. As in the Coptic Church. See Jugie, *loc. cit.*, V, 759.
4. The numerous sources are gathered by Jugie, *loc. cit.* IV, 23 ff. See also Rivière, "Le rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les pères", Revue des Sciences Religieuses, 1924, pp. 43. ff.
5. See FA, sect. 21A.
6. This perfection is the privilege of the saints, an extension of the *praerogativa martyrii*. See the examples given by Josephus (Methonensis), De Fruitione Sanctorum, MPG CLIX, esp. cols. 1285 ff.

of the final state, but neither the bliss of the saints, nor the punishment of the damned are determined until the Last Judgment takes place. According to Symeon of Thessalonica, all the faithful departed, even the saints in heaven, remain in a state of imperfect bliss until the second coming of Christ: they have not yet received their full reward.¹

During this "status provisorius" which lasts until the judgment, the souls of the dead remain in Hades.² Hades has two divisions: a place of light, consolation and peace; and a place of punishment, the ³ἀβυσσος. The good are assigned to the former, the wicked to the latter. In this manner the souls of the dead experience a foretaste of their ultimate fate. After the judgment the good will be transported to heaven, and the damned will be hurled into the eternal fires of Gehenna. The provisional hell, the ⁴ἀβυσσος contains various punishments designed to chastise different categories of sinners.

1. Responsum Quartum ad Gabriel Pentap., MPG CXL, col. 844.

2. This view is still in force in the Orthodox Church. A recent treatment of the question in which many interesting historical texts are quoted is C. Dyovuniotis, *Ἡ μέση κατάσταση τῶν ψυχῶν*, Athens, 1904. Cf. the numerous references in Jugie IV.

3. Probably derived from Luke 8.31.

4. Cyril of Alexandria (MPG LXXVII, cols. 1076 ff.) gives a detailed account of the various sufferings in the ἀβυσσος.

In the interval between death and judgment, those who have died without doing penance, provided they have not died in despair, nor have been guilty of sins against the Holy Ghost, may obtain illumination and respite, and finally complete deliverance from their sufferings, not by their own merits, but through the great mercy of God. This attitude is reflected in the prayers of the Church, especially those on the day of burial, when the priest prays that God will deliver the souls from all torments and sufferings of Hades, that He grant them rest (ἀναπαύειν) in the Bosom of Abraham, that He bring them unto the Place of Light (τόπος φωτεινός), to a locus refrigerii (τόπος ἀναψύξεως). It is even asked that souls be delivered from the fire of Gehenna on the Day of Judgment. Many such prayers can be culled from the Εὐχολόγιον¹ μέγα .

From such prayers it may be seen that there was a strong belief that the souls of the departed could be saved by the prayers of the Faithful on earth. This freeing of soul may be accomplished in two ways. It may mean a deliverance from the temporal punishments of Hell, and the privilege of entering Paradise, or it may mean deliverance from

1. See M. Rajewsky, Euchologion der orthodox-katholischen Kirche, Wien, 1861, Vol. III, pp. 257-288.

the eternal fires of Gehenna on the Day of Final Judgment. If deliverance for the soul is not obtained, it is at least possible to obtain for the soul a slight consolation, μικρὰ παραμυθία¹, or a diminution of their sufferings for a time, an ἀνεσίς τις πρόσκαιρος². Prayers for the dead are especially effective when recited by the saints. To be sure, some theologians (e.g. Theophylaktos³) limit the efficacy of such prayers to those who have not committed serious sins, or to those who before death did express contrition and a desire for the sacraments, but others extend the efficacy of prayer to those guilty of serious sins. Meletius, e.g., states that in accordance with the words of Christ, the only unforgiveable sins, even in the next world, are those against the Holy Ghost.⁴ The liturgical prayers of the Orthodox Greek Church express petitions for all who have died, including the ἁμαρτωλότεροι⁵.

This doctrine of the Eastern Church leaves no room

-
1. MPG XCV, 256 (Or. de duplici statu defunctorum).
 2. Georgius Scholarius, Epistula ad Joannem Thessalonicensem, in Jugie, IV, 177.
 3. MPG, CXXXIII, col. 880. Cf. Jugie IV, 141.
 4. Jugie IV, 149.
 5. See the Ἀκολουθία νεκρώσιμος in the Euchologion (Greek text, ed. Venice 1851, pp. 393 ff. and 436 ff).

for a Purgatory situated outside of Hell as in the Western Church. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the purification of souls by a temporal fire, but he does not mention a particular and special place for this purification.¹ Origen expressly taught that purification could be accomplished after death. However, when the teaching of Origen was condemned, the idea of a purgatory was officially banned² in the East.

The dwelling of the soul in Paradise or Hell is temporary. Complete reward and punishment are reached only after the soul has been reunited with the body. The blessedness of the perfect consists in the contemplation of the Triune God in light and glory, and in union with Him. The body will be illumined with the divine light, and become like the glorified body of Christ. The wicked will be delivered into eternal punishment, into the eternal fire in the company of the devil.

The temporary condition of the blessed is graphically emphasised in the teaching of the Coptic Church

1. MPG XLVI, col. 168.

2. However, the idea of purgation after death was fairly widespread before the condemnation of Origen. See the article by G. Anrich, "Clemens und Origenes als Begründer der Lehre, vom Fegfeuer" in Theologische Abhandlungen für H. Holtzmann, Tübingen, 1902, pp. 97-120.

concerning Paradise.¹ The souls of the just enjoy rest and refreshment in their Paradise, the Bosom of Abraham, but direct vision of God is denied them: a curtain hangs between them and the Divine Presence. Only select saints are allowed to penetrate this veil. In the Coptic amenti, a similar transitory condition prevails: those who die guilty of venial sins are purified in misery and darkness until the Judgment comes, those who die in mortal sins are condemned to eternal fire after Judgment.

The above sketch is very brief, but it is sufficient to show the close relationships between the teachings of the Eastern Churches and the theory implied in the Vision of Adamnan. FA consistently represents the next life as a status intermedius. In sect. 5B is found the veil which separates the "Marvellous Prince" from the saints." In sect. 6 we are told that the veil will be removed on the Day of Judgment. This is remarkably close to the teaching of the Coptic Church mentioned above. Similarly, in sect. 29B, we are told that the fire of eternal damnation is occupied only by the demons: the damned are not yet therein.

1. Cf. C. Kopp, Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche, Rome, 1932 (= Orientalia Christiana 35.1), pp. 51 ff. Also Emin Bey, Studi storico-donnatici sulla Chiesa Giacobita-Copta, London, 1890, p. 34.

Judgment in FA is associated with the ascent of the seven heavens, involving examination and trial with sentence in the seventh. The plan corresponds with the system of *τελώνια* outlined above.

The concept of Hell as found in FA is identical with that described above. Hell contains both those to be released on the Day of Judgment and those who will receive eternal damnation. There is no mention of a purgatory in the western sense of the word. The only suggestion of a purgatorial cleansing occurs in the second heaven. This station does contain a *πύρ καθάρσιον* : its function is to remove the guilt attached to the souls of the "saints". There is no need to go to the West to explain this quasi-purgatory: the popularity of Origen in eastern monastic circles accounts satisfactorily for the presence of the concept in Adamnan. The problem is examined more closely in the next section.

Section 14A does provide a mystery, for the text is so brief that no clue is given as to what categories of souls constitute these groups of "exclusi". That they are in a sort of purgatory is possible, but inasmuch as the Vision makes provision for purgation in the second heaven a second purgatory is not necessary. Seymour constructs a theory of an intermediate state to explain these souls,

but there is nothing in the text to justify this approach.

At least, it can be safely said that such a purgatory without the "ignis purgatorius" is completely foreign to western ideas of a purgatory.

PART III: The Seven Heavens.

The materials available for the study of the Seven Heavens Apocryphon have been included in the Commentary on sections 15B-20. The description from the Corpus Christi MS (CCCC 41) is given in full in an appendix (p.308 f). It is not my intention here to go into the obscure history of the Himmelsreise theory. Despite Bousset's arguments in favour of a Persian origin,¹ the only safe statement that can be made is that it was especially developed in Gnostic circles, and that its occurrence in eastern apocalyptic literature is due to gnostic influence.² As found in FA, the original concept of the inimical archons has been considerably changed, and adapted to other purposes. This must be clarified in order to understand its use in the Vision.

The general principle found in all gnostic systems is that of opposition between the world of light and the powers of darkness.³ The powers of the world of darkness are responsible for the creation of matter, including the

-
1. See Part II,^{p.21,} note 2.
 2. For Gnosticism in general see Bibliography under Anz, Bousset, Brandt, Faye, Forster, Schmidt. Anz' work contains a good collection of material.
 3. For the dualism of the Mandaean system see Pallis, Mandaean Studies, pp. 155-160.

human body. The soul belongs to the world of light, it is a *σπινθήρ*¹ of the Divine Light, and upon death seeks to return to its source. However, the way is blocked by the inimical archons,² the creators of the world of darkness, who seek to imprison the soul. The archons are frequently identified with the planets, and are thus connected with the various heavens. If the soul is contaminated with matter, it is captured and imprisoned. To escape this fate, the soul must possess some sign or quality to enable it to pass each successive stage. Sometimes it is gnosis that is required: the name of the archon may suffice as a password. Frequently a *σφραγίς* of some kind is needed, e.g. that of baptism, or of the sacrament of oil. In other systems ethical qualities are needed: a virtuous life, a treasure³ of good deeds.

As long as the archons were considered as identical with the powers of darkness, imprisonment in the houses (stations) of the archons was equivalent to being in hell,

-
1. Epiphanius, contra Haer. 23, 1.
 2. A convenient outline of the archon-system in Mandaeism is in Pallis, l.c., pp. 74-92. For other systems see Bousset, Hauptprobleme, Chapt. I: "Die Sieben und die *Μήτηρ*", pp. 9-58, and id. "Die Himmelsreise der Seele".
 3. All stages, from the magic password to the treasury of good deeds, are found in the Mandaean writings. The most significant texts are cited by Pallis, l.c., pp. 142-145.

for the realm of the archons did constitute a hell from a practical viewpoint. Under the influence of Christian monism a change was introduced into this system. The archons could be retained in their function as examiners, their examination constituting the particular judgment of each soul immediately after death, or they could be banned to the underworld to become the tormenting demons. The logical solution would be to eliminate them completely, and that is generally what happened in later apocalyptic, especially in the west. A similar elimination of the archons can be traced in the Ginza, when, due to Christian¹ influence, the doctrine of hell was introduced.

The version of the 7HA incorporated into FA manifests several layers of readaptation. In the first place it is clear that the ostiarii of FA are not comparable to the ἀρχόντες as known from the Gnostic writings. Archangels have replaced these hostile powers. Moreover, a process of purification is found in the second heaven, and, if the interpretation of the two virgins as found in CCCC 41 is original, then, for the souls of the just, the ascent of the heavens is a παιδείσις, and the trial by

1. See Pallis, l.c., 180.

fire to which these potential "saints" are subjected serves to render them free from their minor imperfections. This makes the second heaven somewhat like a purgatory, and it is tempting to assume that this feature was introduced to make provision for the western idea of purgatory. However, the Commentary points out that this second heaven has preserved the very early notion that entrance into Paradise must be preceded by the baptism of fire. The "bright spring" in FA, which adds purity and brilliance to the souls, prepares them for their heavenly dwelling. It will be noticed that for all practical purposes the ascent of the just soul is completed in this second heaven. The remaining stations are passed without hindrance or delay. The apparent purgatory of the second heaven is therefore derived from very early ideas about the fiery barrier that all must pass through to enter into Paradise.¹ The strange thing about this idea is not its occurrence, but that it should be used to build up the content of what was originally a hostile mattarta. It shows quite conclusively that the seven heaven theory of FA has been stripped of its original meaning and application, and reconstructed by using motifs from other areas of early Christian eschatological thought. The author wished to retain

1. See Commentary on sect. 5B: circull tentide.

the motifs of the *φρόνιμον πῦρ* and the Fons Roris. Properly these things belong in the vicinity of the earthly (or celestial) Paradise, not in the second station of the soul's ascent. After passing the test of the stations, the soul would be expected to go through the final test of the fiery stream that surrounds Paradise (note that sinners are not mentioned with reference to this stream) and then be bathed in the water of life before entering their abode of blessedness.

Furthermore, an examination of the names assigned to the various fragments of the 7HA will show that we are not dealing with the usual heptouranic system. These names suggest a form of cosmic speculation quite different from the systems usually traced back to the "Babylonians". K, e.g., retains names like Abottem, Iothiam, Seloth, Theruch, which are apparently semitic, but fail to yield a satisfactory meaning. These may be garbled forms of names of archons. It is impossible to relate these names with the planets. In C we again find strange, apparently semitic names applied to the doors or the heavens themselves (Sabaoth, Elioth, Ioth, Iohim), while in a section introducing the 7HA, C names the heavens lyftlic, oferlyftlic, fyrena, rodor, etc., a system used partly in LF, N, and M. This

system is based on the names of the elements: extending above the earth are found the regions of air, ether, fire, water (that above the firmament) - to which are added

τὸ ἐμπύριον and *Sedes Trinitatis*. This system of heavens is still somewhat mysterious. It may reflect a mere haphazard collection of names without much sense or system; but there is a strong probability that as more fragments of the 7HA come to light we shall be able to detect a well developed theory of celestial immortality therein. At present it is impossible to trace the origin. It is obvious that the first five heavens are parts of a cosmological system; whereas *Caelum Angelorum* and *Caelum Trinitatis* belong to the field of mystical speculation on the abodes of the spiritual beings and the souls of the Blessed.

Not only in name but also in content are the heavens of FA mysterious. In so far as some of the heavens contain places of torments they conform to the concept of hostile *matartas*. But the punishments are applied to all sinners alike. No distinctions are made to indicate that one type of sin is punished in one station and another type in another. Furthermore the twelve year period of torment is very mysterious. If the action of the torments were purificatory, there would be no difficulty in explaining them as temporal punishments intended to accomplish satisfaction for sins forgiven,

but for which penance has not yet been performed; but according to our text, the sinners do not profit from these sufferings: their path is one of various torments, leading to condemnation, and consumption by the twelve fiery dragons. The only reasonable solution that presents itself is that some of these heavens are types of fore-hells.

It will be noted that there are five places of trial. The sixth heaven is a sort of dressing-room, containing precious stones which illumine the souls. When the souls reach the sixth heaven, the author makes no distinction in the treatment of the good and wicked souls, he merely says that they are illuminated with the brilliance of precious stones. In a five-station-system, after being tried in the fifth station, we would expect the souls of the damned to be relegated to hell, rather than be permitted further ascent. Thus in the Armenian fragment given in translation in the Commentary to 18B, judgment occurs in the fifth heaven. The implication is that the damned get no farther. However, FA puts the judgment in the seventh heaven- hence the contradiction.

The system of $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha$, as found e.g. in Cyril of Alexandria (Hom. XIV) needs no special judge: judgment is accomplished by the examination of each station. At the end of the ascent the just are led to heaven, the wicked go

to hell.

The above brief treatment should make it clear that the 7HA as found in FA is decidedly different from other descriptions we possess of the souls journey through the heavens. The many signs of reworking it betrays reflect attempts to adjust to changing concepts of the next world. The further study of the various fragments of this apocryphon does not belong to the present work, where we are mainly interested in throwing light on the vision itself. I hope to make the comparative study of these fragments the subject of a special monograph.

Before leaving this subject it should be pointed out that the heaven of light described in the earlier sections of FA is in complete harmony with the seven-heavens sections. Originally conceived of as constituting the special world of the powers of darkness, the station of the archons have above them their opposite, the realm of light. Most extant Gnostic fragments follow the same general pattern; it is especially prominent in the Mandaean books. In view of this it is a reasonable conjecture that sections four to twenty have preserved for us a consecutive fragment describing the ascent of the seven heavens and the City of God at the summit of this ascent.

The sixth heaven, with its treasure-house of precious

stones, is especially important in directing us into the channels whence this apocryphon was derived. In the Commentary on the section (18B), these stones are compared to the שֶׁכֶּנֶת־לֵךְ of Ezekiel 28: they constitute the treasure house of light, which was also a $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}s\ \xi\omega\eta s$. This treasury of light plays an important part in the Gnostic writings, e.g. in Pistis Sophia,¹ where it is frequently mentioned. One of the finest descriptions of this light-world is contained in the chapter entitled $\text{כְּסֵפֶה דְּחַיָּה}$ (treasury of life) in the Mandaean Book of John, especially the Diamond-World of Section 58.²

The origin of this heavenly treasure-house will probably never be quite clear, any more than the שֶׁכֶּנֶת־לֵךְ of Ezekiel. It is substituted for the usual tree of life: the gem-like brightness of the perfect soul is a sharing in the brilliance of the Divine Treasure: this treasure communicates $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ or כְּבוֹד . One would naturally suppose that this treasure house does not belong in the sixth heaven, but rather in the heavenly paradise, the seventh heaven, where, according to FA, the שְׁכִינָה is resting upon a throne supported by four columns of precious stones. Unfortunately,

1. See Schmidt's edition, Register s.v. Lichtschatz.
 2. Transl. Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, pp. 205-206.

it is impossible to re-establish the original plan of this celestial paradise because of our limited source-material. Judging from the names of the heavens in LF and N (Caelum Angelorum, Caelum Trinitatis, etc.) we are definitely in the abodes of light after passing the fifth heaven. I would conclude from this that the original plan of FA had five $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha$ in the (purgatorial and judicial) ascent, followed by two other heavens, the Heaven of the Angels, and the Heaven of the Trinity, derived from speculative mystical theology, and completely foreign to the archon-planet system whence the $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\alpha$ are derived. It is another example of the widespread contamination of ideas and motifs to be found in FA.

Examining sections 15B - 20, the reader will doubtlessly conclude that the 7HA as there preserved is in a very fragmentary state. Only two ostiarii, Michael and Ariel, are mentioned by name. Michael has a double role: not only is he an $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$ in section 15C, but he is also the $\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\pi\omicron\mu\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ of 18B. As we know the seven heavens system from other sources, we would expect a complete set of names for the archons. Comparing the fuller lists of K, C, and LF we find similar gaps and discrepancies. No fragment of the 7HA is complete. After repeated examination of the semitic looking names preserved

in K, C, and LF, I am convinced that the numerous possible (and plausible) interpretations of them are too conjectural to be of any help in determining the origin of the apocryphon. Perhaps they were never intended to have a meaning. If they are ultimately derived from a Gnostic account of the ascent, then we may be quite sure that they were magic names. It was important to know them, but their meaning (if they had any) was of no importance. C, e.g., tells us that the name of the second heaven is ELIOTH, which is somewhat like the Archon Ἐλιώθης of the Ophite-System (Orig. contr.Cels. VI. 31.32). However, even if the identity could be demonstrated it would be of little help, for we would then have to explain why the name of the archon became the name of the door.

This state of things can have only one meaning. When the apocryphon was used in FA it had already reached a stage wherein the original Gnostic elements were no longer understood, or were positively rejected. The names were no longer of importance, hence they were omitted or grossly miswritten. Likewise the inimical archons gave way to archangels. The implication is that the theory of ascent had once been an important element in the belief of the sect which developed it, but under more orthodox Christian views it was modified to eliminate the dualism implied. Christian thought

had banished the powers of darkness to hell. With such a doctrine the mattartas as such were no longer necessary; in fact, they would be considered heretical.

So adaptation and modification were necessary. The archons could still be judges, and the torments of the mattartas could be turned into purgatories or fore-hells. This is the stage reached in FA. It is a prime document for the study of the later development of the Himmelsreise-theory, and in its combination of effective purgatorial torments and fore-hells it is a unique document.

For one aspect of the seven heavens in FA, the twelve year periods of torment, a plausible explanation may be advanced. Twelve years was a common period of penance in the Celtic Church. I believe that in 7HA, the author is trying to teach that damnation involves two types of suffering: the temporal suffering which must be undergone for sins which are forgiven but for which penance was not performed; eternal punishment which took place after the General Judgment. However, this is only an opinion, for there is also a strong probability that the number twelve is part of the symbolic system which gives us the twelve dragons, the twelve walls of hell, and the twelve thousand cubits. To attempt a categorical solution to the problem would be futile.

The symbols used in the Commentary for citing the various versions of 7HA are the following:

- K: The Reichenau-fragment at Karlsruhe, published by Donation de Bruyne in Rev. Benedictine XXIV (1907), p. 311. The entire passage is given in Appendix I, p. 307-308.
- O: The 7HA from MS CCCC 41, published by Willard, Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies, 1935, pp. 4-6. The pertinent sections are given in Appendix II, p. 308-311.
- LF: The Evernew Tongue, according to LFF, Vol. II, 20 (22). The information in the Commentary is based on Seymour's outline in ZCP XIV (1923) pp.20-21.
- N: The Evernew Tongue, according to MS 23. L.29 (RIA). Information derived from Seymour, ZCP XIV (1923), p. 22.
- M: The Evernew Tongue, as in the modern version of 1817, ed. G. Dottin, "Une Redaction Moderne du Teanga Bithnua," RC XXVIII (1907), pp.295-297.

For other versions and interpretations of the seven heavens in Irish Literature, the reader is referred to the article by Seymour, "The Seven Heavens in Irish Literature," ZCP XIV (1923), pp. 18-30.

PART IV: Imagery.

Εἰκὼν δὲ τῆς οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας ἡ ἐπιχειρ¹σις.

Throughout the Commentary attention is called to the apparent confusion and juxtaposition of unrelated types of imagery. Here some attempt will be made to explain the general architecture of the celestial world of FA.

To understand certain features, it will be necessary to keep in mind the original pattern of the inimical archons and the realm of light. The heavens may be considered as spheres or zones, rising one above the other. The seventh heaven is the realm of light, and is protected from the originally hostile powers of the inferior heavens by a seven-fold wall. This wall is a φραγμὸς κακίας, a fortification against evil. It resembles the seven golden walls² built about the Realm of Light by Hibil.

Each of these walls is higher than the preceding one, yielding the image of a seven terraced zikkurat. This structure or zikkurat is called a city. The text does not make it clear whether it is the same as the seventh heaven or extends above it. Its seven walls are of crystal, coloured

1. Clem. Alex., Strom. IV, 66.

2. Ginza Right V, transl. Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 168, lines 6-9.

with various hues. Anz¹ and Bousset² have demonstrated the ultimate Babylonian origin of such idealised representations of the universe. Nearly fifty years ago, Dieterich, discussing the controversial theories of the Himmelsreise, wrote:

Aber immerhin mag Anz mit recht die κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος mit dem Thor darüber im Mithrasdienste bei Origenes o. Cels. VI.22 und die verschiedenen Farben der Tore nach den Farben der Planeten auf traditionen Babylonien zurückführen, wo der Turm der sieben Planeten vielleicht (die Rekonstruktionen scheinen wirklich sehr unsicher zu sein) sieben verschiedene Farben trug und darüber das Haus des Gottes stand, und wo jedenfalls die sieben Mauern von Ekbatana die verschiedenen Farben tragen.³

This tower of the seven Planets with its seven walls of various hues, and the dwelling of God at the summit is the same structure that FA gives us. Unfortunately, the description in sect. 11 is very short, but it is sufficient to classify the celestial city of FA among the types described by Anz and Bousset. It is interesting to note that in FA the city bears the mark (image, countenance) of the sun on its base. In the four planet lists found in the Mandaean Books,⁴ Šamīš (ܫܡܝܫ) is always the first (lowest) of the planets,

-
1. Anz. Ursprung des Gnostizismus. The book is mainly devoted to elucidating the obscure origins of the archon-planet scheme in the various Gnostic systems.
 2. Bousset, Himmelsreise, 238 ff.
 3. Eine Mithrasliturgie (1910), p. 186.
 4. Ginza Right I 27, 16-21; II 51, 2-6; VIII 171, 21-23 (Petermann). Book of John LXII 235, 11-14 (Lidzbarski).

and also the first maṭṭarta. There can be little doubt that this Irish vision has preserved another example of the "Babylonian" type of celestial city.

For a Christian writer acquainted with the ¹הַר אֱלֹהִים or ²הַר צִיּוֹן -types of celestial city, the zikkurat-like "Babylonian" city could serve as an excellent image for the heavenly Jerusalem. The sun image on the base, which no longer had any significance as the sign of a hostile maṭṭarta was well suited to the Christian symbolism of Christ as the ³שֶׁשׁ צִדְקָה. This symbolism is explained in the Commentary to section 11. For the author of FA, the zikkurat was a "crystal city in the sky", and the temple at its summit was a Christian Church. It is a most amazing bit of syncretism.

Thus the major features of the celestial city of FA are quite clear. There are seven regions, one above the other, called heavens. The seventh is a city surrounded by seven walls. This seven walled city is to be thought of as a zikkurat. The different hues of the walls were originally derived from the colours of the seven planets. This idealised Ekbatana has been stripped of its original cosmographic significance

1. Ezechiel 28.14.

2. Isaiah 14.13-14.

3. Malach. 3.20.

and is retained as an image for the Civitas Dei.¹

The remaining imagery of the celestial city is apparently derived from features of oriental ecclesiastical architecture.² A few details will make this clear. The churches of the East, Greek, Syrian, Coptic, or Abyssinian have the following features in common, whether they be rectangular, cruciform or round. The building is divided into three principal sections: the sanctuary, the choir, the place for the congregation. The sanctuary, the hekal of the Copts, the kuds-al-kudas of the Syrians, contains an

1. The terraced Babylonian tower was in all probability a representation of the $\text{E-kur} = \text{mountain-home}$ before it acquired significance as a cosmological symbol. This is suggested by names like E-kur (mountain-home) at Nippur, and Etemen-anki (house of the foundations of heaven and earth) at Babel. The tower at Nippur was called Duranki (bridge?) between heaven and earth, i.e. mountain). See Maspero, Dawn of Civilisation, pp. 628 ff., and esp. Th. Dombart, Der Sakralturm, I Teil: Zikkurat, Munich, 1920. Cf. G. H. Kraeling, "The Tower of Babel", JAOS, 1920, pp. 275 ff., H. Gunkel, "Turmbau", RGK V (2nd ed.), col. 1325 ff. That the seven walled city in FA was identified with a temple is obvious from the church-imagery used in its description. When heaven (as the summit of the E-kur) is symbolised as a church (temple) the various regions of the church become the various "lands" of heaven. Hence names like "tir na naeb", "mag muintire nime" for ἡ πόλις and ναός . The house of the god at the summit of the zikkurat = heaven = the church ($\text{ἡ οὐράνιος ἐκκλησία}$).
2. I have made the description very general in order to include the greatest number of possibilities. Several features in the description of the "City" in FA suggest a round structure, with the throne forming its centre. However, the description in 5B suggests that the throne is orientated. Furthermore, the "golden porch" faces the inhabitants of the "tir na naeb" from one direction (the South). In view of this it is difficult to choose a particular type of church as the model for FA.

elevated altar which is orientated. The altar stands free and is overhung by a baldachino supported on four columns.¹ The sanctuary is separated from the nave of the church by an iconostasis furnished with three doors. During parts of the liturgical service these doors are closed by a curtain.²

The nave contains the raised seats of the choir, and stalls for pre-eminent members of the laity. Both nave and sanctuary are lit by numerous hanging lamps.³

The nave (ναός) communicates with the places of the congregation either directly, or via a covered portico (νάρθηξ or better ὁ ἔσω νάρθηξ). This portico may in turn communicate with a (generally) rectangular courtyard. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, frequently imitated in the Aethiopian churches, consists of two round structures, one within the other, the inner one called makdas (the "holy place", sanctuary), and separated from the outer one by a continuous passage (like a circular νάρθηξ).⁴

1. See Heiler, Urkirche und Ostkirche, p. 468.
2. For the iconostasis and its history see Leclercq, "Iconostase", DACL, VII, 1, pp. 31-48.
3. This is especially true of the Coptic churches. See Heiler, l.c., p. 483.
4. Heiler, l.c. p. 500.

The sanctuary is entered only by the officiating ecclesiastics (priest, bishop, deacons). The nave is for the choir and distinguished laymen. The general congregation is placed in the *νάρθηξ* or in the courtyard leading to it.

It is a probable conjecture that the "tir na naeb" of sect. 4 is derived from the outer court described above. The rectangular walls would suggest the grouping according to the four directions. The "mag muintre nime" of section 7 is equivalent to the "long" of sect. 4. Both refer to the nave (*ναός*) of the church. This is in clear view of those in the "tir na naeb". The golden porch of 5B is the *νάρθηξ*, the crystal veil is either the iconostasis itself, or the curtain of the iconostasis.

The royal throne of sect. 8 is probably the altar.¹ The great arch above it is either the baldachino or the (ornamented) dome of the sanctuary. The four columns could be derived either from the supports of the altar or the support of the baldachino.

The choir in the nave (sect. 13) represents the angelic hosts. The *ναός* is considered to be the place where

1. In MS K, God is represented as sitting on a precious stone "unde venit lux et ignis". This may have been suggested by the altar-stone. However, most heavenly Jerusalems are made of gold and silver, pearls and precious stones, and that may account for the gold, the crystal, the precious stones in the heaven of FA.

the direct vision of God takes place after the Judgment. The choirs are divided by chancel screens into groups of two. This division is quite natural, for two choirs are needed for the proper recitation of the office.

The flaming angels and the burning jewels were probably suggested by the numerous candles and lamps.

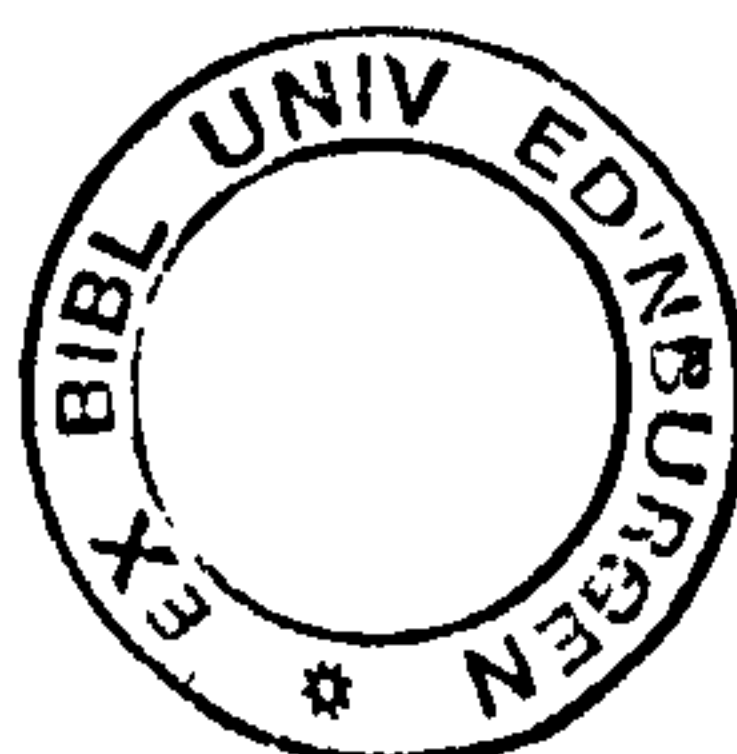
This explanation, though brief, clarifies the apparent confusion of images, and gives some hint of their immediate derivation. However, this approach alone does not suffice to explain the further symbolic use of these concepts in the Vision. There is an air of mystical speculation throughout the descriptive portions of the vision. In the Commentary this is explained by comparison with similar treatment in Jewish mystical writings, wherein comparable symbolism derived from the temple-services and apocalyptic passages from the Bible is found.

The above described approach to the imagery of FA does not exclude other interpretations. When idealised, the original *ναός*, the "long" of section 4 might well be thought of as a sphere or globe floating in the sea of the sky. This is suggested in the Commentary to sect. 4. The basic images can be derived from aspects of church-structure and liturgical actions, but we have no certain solution to these images when used as symbols. That is why it has been

impossible in the course of the Commentary to give a decisive answer to the various problems of symbolism.

Some aspects of the symbolism of FA may be illustrated by similar traits in the Imrama-literature. The necessary material has been gathered and applied by Seymour (IVO, esp. Chap. III, pp.62-96) and by Boswell (IPD, esp.pp. 174-206). The reader is referred to these two works for things like the music of the four columns, instances of three birds associated with the other world, and kindred topics. Unfortunately the comparable symbolic elements in the Imrama-literature are generally far more cryptic than those in FA, and I have therefore left most of this material out of the Commentary, lest the explanation attempted should devolve into an illustration of the unknown by material still more obscure. Singing stones and flaming jewels can be found in the popular tales of many nations, but I have not discovered any such stones, jewels, or columns the musical qualities of which are associated with the liturgical images forming the basis of the symbolism in FA. At present I am inclined to think that the musical properties attached to certain symbols in the vision were added by the Irish redactor, though this assumption gives us no clue as to why they were added. It could hardly be expected that the materials used for the vision would not acquire some of the

characteristics of Irish Literature when they passed into
Irish hands.



PART V: Miscellaneous Topics.

1. Adamnan. Adamnan u Thinne, c. 625-704, was the ninth abbot of Iona. Boswell (IPD, pp. 4-28) has gathered together the principal facts of his life. The vision bearing his name is not the work of Adamnan, nor can it be considered an authentic report of a vision seen by the great abbot. His name was probably attached to the Vision to give it greater authority as reflecting the teaching of the Roman Church, for it was well known that Adamnan adopted the Roman Easter and tonsure. However, FA does not show any definite traces of Roman teachings, but points rather to the eschatology of the oriental churches, especially the churches of Egypt. This was probably the accepted Irish theory before the introduction of the Roman reforms, but why it should be defended as Roman in a piece written c. 1000 A.D. remains a mystery. The vision as we have it has been so shortened (and possibly altered) that it could be interpreted to fit several theories of the next life. Despite this fact, it betrays its eastern origin in so many places that it may possibly represent the attitude of certain groups who wished to claim the title Roman while clinging to their older (and oriental) theories of the future life. If this be true, then the Vision of Adamnan may have been a polemic writing, a product of the schism which

broke out between the Roman and Celtic parties in Iona after Adamnan's death. This, however, is pure conjecture, and I prefer to avoid any theory as to the purpose of the Vision apart from its obvious doctrinal content. With the exception of sect. 30, the Vision of Adamnan contains little parainetic material. It is certainly not a call to a religious revival, and the tone is far from controversial. So far as can be determined from the extant text it is a sober statement of an eschatological theory, expressed in the descriptive and symbolic language of apocalyptic. The doctrine contained is traced not only to Adamnan, but to Patrick, the Roman popes Silvester and Fabian, and even to Peter and Paul. It would seem that such a claim to authenticity could only be required in circumstances where this traditional teaching was threatened by a rival doctrine.

2. *Angelology.* There are some aspects of the angelology of FA which deserve comment. We find the word angel used in the original meaning of the word in section 9, which mentions the numerous messengers who go to and from the Lord. Throughout the Vision the term guardian angel occurs several times. These guardian angels remain in the service of the souls entrusted to them until the Day of Judgment. Their assistance is especially required in the difficult ascent of

the seven heavens (sect. 15B). A distinction is made between angels and archangels, but no other classes are mentioned by name. The proper names of three angels are given: Michael, Ariel, and Abersetus.

According to sect. 4, the nine choirs are in a vessel (nave), and their function is the chanting of the divine office (see sect. 7). In addition to the choir-angels, there are the "soldiers" of sect. 8, "in the forms of horses and birds".

The Celestial City is illuminated by flaming angels, some distributed around the circumference, others in the centre (sect. 13). As symbols these angels may have some sidereal significance, representing the luminous celestial bodies. The image created by the flaming angels about the Royal Throne is a brief מַלְאָכִים-picture and should be compared with the complicated system of angelology found in 3 En., especially chapters 17-25. The Commentary contains detailed information about the various categories and functions of these beings of light.

3. Light Images. For convenience a brief summary of the light-images of the first twenty sections of FA is given below:

Sect. 4: The Land of the Saints is fruitful and luminous. The inhabitants wear white robes and shining white hoods.

Sect. 5A: The Blessed contemplate a light (soilse).

- Sect. 5B: A fiery circle surrounds the land of the saints.
- Sect. 6: The groups of guardian angels are described as "bright".
- Sect. 7: The brilliance of the "mag muintire nime" is greater than that of the Land of the Saints.
- Sect. 8: The Throne is flaming eternally.
- Sect. 9: The "Powerful Lord" on the throne is said to possess "glowing heat . . . ruddiness . . . exceeding brilliance, brightness".
- Sect. 10: The "Powerful Lord" is seven times brighter than the sun. He is a fiery mass, burning eternally. "Heaven and earth are filled with His brilliance, and there is the brightness about Him like that of a king's star".
- Sect. 11: The City is of crystal, illuminated with the "countenance of the sun".
- Sect. 12: The Blessed are arranged about the Royal Throne "with splendour and beauty".
- Sect. 13: The three precious stones are, in their upper portions, burning lamps. Seven thousand angels like great candles brighten the city. Seven thousand others burn about the Throne.
- Sect. 14B: One of the veils at the principal entrance to the City is of fire.
- Sect. 16: The souls of the "saints" are cleansed until they reach a purity and brightness comparable to the brilliance of the stars.

Sect. 18B: The souls are illumined with the brightness and splendour of precious stones.

These images show clearly that we are really in a Realm of Light in the heaven of FA. The Commentary gives numerous analogs for the various images. Compare also the remarks made above (Introduction, Part III) about the world of light above the stations of the archons.

4. Hell. The description of Hell in FA, with the exception of the bridge, provides no difficulties of interpretation. It fits traditional patterns of the underworld, be they eastern or western, Christian, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Persian. As preserved in FA, the hell-sections betray signs of reworking which has disturbed the original relationship between the crime and its punishment. So far as eschatological theory is concerned, this hell is presented as a temporary place of punishment. The fire of eternal torment (29B) is not inhabited by souls after the General Judgment. It is the same distinction that is still made in the Orthodox Greek Church between the fire of the *apuros* and the eternal pains of Gehenna. Details of imagery and structure are treated at length in the Commentary.

The material collected by Seymour (IVO, pp. 39-61) proves that this type of hell was well known in Ireland. It is suggested in the Commentary that the author (or Irish redactor) of FA was well acquainted with the type of hell he describes, but probably found the Himmelsreise-theory a bit obscure. This, however, does not mean that in origin the

hell-portion is older than the first twenty sections. The Commentary demonstrates that the basic motifs of the heaven-sections are found already in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and in several gnostic sects which antedate them. There is no sound reason for assuming that the materials of both heaven and hell sections were not in existence and conjoined as early as the fourth century A.D. The eastern flavour found throughout FA would lead one to believe that the original vision was introduced into western Europe and thence into Britain by the monastic movement. It is worth recalling that the fragment of 7HA denoted by K in the Commentary is regarded as a Priscillianist fragment. When Priscillian was put to death by Maximus in 385 some of his followers were banished to the Scilly Islands. Direct passage to Ireland would then be easy, and this sect may have introduced the apocryphon at an early date. Seymour's distinction between Adarnan I and Adarnan II is derived from his theory that the heaven-sections represent a tenth century attitude toward the eschatological problem. They may as well represent a fourth century viewpoint. Seymour's theory rests upon the interpretation of sect. 14A as a purgatory - an assumption which has no foundation in the text. No certain explanation of 14A is possible, but the conjectures given in the Commentary show at least that

another approach is possible.

PART VI: Previous Studies of the Vision.

The Bibliography contains a complete list of the previous studies of FA. Two works are of especial importance: Boswell's An Irish Precursor of Dante, and Seymour's Irish Visions of the Other World.

Boswell's book is well written and entertaining, and can be read with profit by anyone interested in the Vision. The material he has gathered together is of some value in indicating the various fields of literature to be used for comparative purposes. The summary of the vision-tradition, entitled "The Legend in Ireland" (pp. 113-174) is a convenient introduction to the voyage-literature and related types. However, Boswell's treatment often takes the reader far away from the actual text and problems of the Vision, and he frequently fails to indicate the authorities for his opinions. His treatment is general rather than specific, and since he fails to quote the actual words of parallels from his sources, the reader is often forced to rely upon his interpretations, instead of being able to examine the analogs and form his own conclusions. He explains inconsistencies by admitting numerous interpolations, apparently following the principle that what accords with his views of good literary structure belongs to the original (and superior) part of the text. His treatment of eschatological theory is

too general to enable the reader to form an accurate opinion of his interpretation. I believe that, in general, the book is based on secondary sources rather than upon the direct examination of apocalyptic texts. These defects of method and presentation seriously detract from the book.

Rather than give a detailed critique of Boswell's method and conclusions here, I have indicated in the Commentary those aspects of his interpretation which I consider unfounded. Otherwise I have not used his materials, for his parallels are frequently too generalised to be of value for direct comparative use. References are given to those sections of IPD which treat at length subjects which I have not cared to develop in the Commentary.

Seymour's work is on a far different level, for his interest is primarily the eschatological theory contained in FA. He assigns the hell-sections to an earlier period than the heaven-sections, and thus splits the Vision into two parts, Adamnan I and Adamnan II. This has been pointed out above, Part V, no. 4. His method of dealing with Adamnan I (sections 1-20) may be seen from the following quotation:

As we read Adamnan (I) it can at once be perceived that we are moving in a new eschatological atmosphere, and one very different from that of the visions and tales related in the first two chapters (so. of IVO). This becomes increasingly clear when certain excisions are made. Sections 11-13, which describe the appearance of the City of God

and its inhabitants, must be omitted. As has just been said, its citizens are the blest in Heaven, who have been previously described in sections 7-10. Furthermore, we are told that the people in the Land of Saints are separated from God and from the Host of Heaven respectively by a veil and by a portico, which do not leave room for the introduction of a further partition in the shape of a sevenfold ring of fortifications. In addition, the sections (15-18) which describe the ascent of the souls through the Seven Heavens must be also omitted. (IVO, 105).

It can easily be concluded that by following this method, the Vision could be made to fit any theory of the next life. Seymour has imposed upon the Vision his own plan of what a tenth century western eschatological text should be, and has rejected as interpolations those parts which do not fit into his theory of a fourfold division of souls immediately after death. The impossibility of any certain interpretation of 14A has already been pointed out. The only thing that can be said with confidence about these souls is that the places of their detention do not correspond with western ideas of a purgatory. It seems strange that Seymour, if he wanted a purgatory, did not interpret the second heaven as a locus purgatorius - this would have been a far more plausible assumption.

The objection to the images of sections 11-13 is also unfounded. That the imagery is obscure is certainly true, but keeping in mind that the author is imposing images

derived from church-structure upon imagery derived from the (gnostic?) Realm of Light, there is really no inconsistency. The choir-arrangement is but another aspect of the "magnumintire nime," as has been pointed out above (Introduction, Part IV.). The key to such imagery is the simple statement of Clement: *Εἰκὼν δὲ τῆς οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας ἡ ἐπίγειος*. To the modern reader the imagery may well be obscure, but for one steeped in the monastic tradition, the mystical interpretation of the liturgy, and the symbolism of the church, it would be immediately understandable.

Furthermore, there is no sound reason for rejecting the sections dealing with the soul's ascent of the heavens. The general pattern of such a celestial world has been outlined above in Part IV. Enough is known of the Himmelsreise-theory to show that in some circles it was the accepted way of visualising the immediate fate of the soul after death. I believe that the 7HA used in FA has been subjected to several stages of adaptation, mainly in an attempt to eliminate the dualism implied in the original archon-world. This, of course, makes it difficult to interpret, but the difficulty arises from our scanty information about the theory implied rather than from the text itself. Seymour himself ended his examination of the Vision by attributing the 7HA in FA to the original author (IVO, 119).

The chief defects in Seymour's treatment arise from his attempt to read into the text a logical scheme of the fate of souls immediately after death. Using the flexible terms "boni", "mali", "boni non valde", "mali non valde", as his categories, he sets out to discover such classes in various groups of souls described in the Vision. Thus those of sect. 14A are labelled "mali non valde" merely for the sake of the theory. In reality the text gives us no clue as to how these souls should be classified.

Enough has been said to demonstrate Seymour's method. Further criticisms are incorporated into the Commentary. It should be emphasised that apart from these errors of interpretation, the work of Seymour in IVO and elsewhere (see Bibliography under Seymour) is of marked importance in the study of Irish apocrypha. His work on the seven heavens in Irish literature, his careful gathering of materials pertaining to the development of eschatological theory in Ireland are of prime value to the student of this branch of literature. Every investigator in the field is to some extent indebted to him, for he first called attention to significant texts and published convenient analyses thereof.

Since IVO the most important contribution to the study of FA was made by Rudolph Willard. In an excellently written monograph, Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies (1935)

Willard published an Anglo-Saxon fragment of 7HA which he had discovered in the marginalia of MS CCCC 41. This fragment has been used in the Commentary to the seven heavens sections, and is quoted in full in an appendix (II). Not only is the fragment of considerable value in elucidating some of the more obscure aspects of the 7HA, but it also demonstrates that this apocryphon was known and used in some branch of the Anglo-Saxon Church. This fairly recent discovery makes it seem quite possible that more such material will come to light, and that in time the remaining mysteries of 7HA will be solved. In MS 41 the apocryphon is inserted into a homily on the last ends. I intended to provide a complete transcription of this homily for comparative purposes, but unfortunately my microfilm did not arrive in time to make this possible.

THE PROLOGUE ACCORDING TO LB ...

Fis Adomnain incipit.

A. Magnus Dominus noster et magna virtus Ejus,
et sapientiae Ejus non est numerus. Is uasal
ocus is adamra in coimdiu, is mor ocus is mach-
traighthia nert ocus a chumachtu, nis fil orich na
uimir for immud a eona na a moreolais.

5

B. Suscipiens mansuetos dominus, humiliat hautem
peccatores usque ad terram. Tocuirid din in
coimdid chuice docum nime lucht na derci ocus
na trocaire ocus na cendsa ocus na condirle.
Toirbirid tra ocus traseraid docum talman ocus
ifirn comthinol n-etarbach na mac mallachtan.

10

C. In spirut noeb, in spirut ota cech comdignad
ocus cech comairli don eclais cechtarda phe-
tarlaiothi ocus nufiadnaise, is e in spirut
sin ro insorched dana ocus derritiusa na n-
dliged n-diada don eclais, cuirthe fon uli
domun. Is e in Spirut sin do rinfid na bri-
athra sa triasin rigfaith, i. David mac Iese
conapair: Magnus dominus noster, Is mor ocus
is adbul ar tigerna-ne, in coimdiu Isu Crist,
i.e. nemo potest ei dignam laudem afferre.

15

Is inand on, ocus ni thic do neoch molad is

20

imchubaid fris do denum do. Major est omni
 laude virtus qua condidit naturam rerum et
 sustinet molem gravem terram. Ar do roisce 25
 ceoh molad him nert ocus im chumachtu comsu-
 thain or thuisimestar aioned na ndul ocus ic
 fulang met ocus trumma na talman cenach cum-
 scanugud foraib.

D. Et sapientiae Eius non est numerus, i.e. Pater 30
 cognoscit qualitatem omnium rerum. Is immda
 fis ocus eolus in choimded, is inund on ocus
 cid at imda, ocus cid at eosailla na duli, ni
 fil inntib ni no beth i n-anfolli si do.

E. Suscipiens mansuetos dominus, i.e., humiles 35
 ad himaginem Dei legi non adversantes. Aur-
 foemaid in Coimdiu chuci ina muinterus na
 cainduthrachaig ocus na cendsai. Ferend sin
 choimetait inntib do gres cosmailius ocus him-
 aigin De, ocus na tecaite i n-agaid in rechta 40
 atharda.

F. Humiliat hautem peccatores, i. est, solos man-
 suetis contrarios, scilicet immites, et ad
 promerendum scripturarum intellectum mansue-
 tudinem carentes. Deroilid din ocus toirnid 45

na peodachu. In ferend on airithe ata cotarsna
dona cendsaib ocus fora m-benand a n-etrocaire
ocus a n-ecendsa tuicsin n-inmedonaigi na scrip-
tuire noibe.

G. Usque ad terram, i. est, usque ad sapientiam 50
terrenarum vel usque ad sensus carnis. Co
talmain nos trascair, is inand on ocus cusind
ecnai n-domunda no cusna cefadaib.

H. Si igitur mansuetos, i. est, mites bona domini 55
in terra viventium possessuros esse certum est,
quid aliud peccatores isti. i. est immites et non
mansueti qui eis contrarii sunt nisi sempiterna
supplicia in generibus suis possidebunt i. Masa
erdalta iarom immad na fochraice nemdai dona
cendsaib ocus dona coindirclechaib, cid aile bias dona 60
hecednsaib ocus dona hecraibdechu ocus dona hetro-
cairib acht immud anbthine na peni suthaine iar
n-ernailib ecsamlaib.

TRANSLATION

A. Magnus Dominus noster, et magna virtus Ejus, et
sapientiae Ejus non est numerus. The Lord is
exalted and wonderful, His strength and His
power are great and marvellous. There is neither
limit nor measure to the abundance of His wisdom

or of His great knowledge.

- B. Suscipiens mansuetos Dominus, humiliat haudem peccatores usque ad terram. Therefore, the Lord draws unto Himself into heaven the charitable and the merciful, the meek and the considerate. Moreover, He bows down and plunges towards the earth and towards hell the unprofitable assembly of the damned.
- C. The Holy Spirit, the Spirit from whom comes ever consolation and every Counsel to the Church of both the Old and the New Testaments, He is the Spirit who revealed the graces and mysteries of the divine laws to the Church placed throughout the entire world. He is the Spirit who inspired these words through the royal prophet, viz. David, son of Jesse, so that he said: Magnus Dominus noster. Great and vast is our Lord, The Lord Jesus Christ, i.e. nemo potest ei dignam laudem afferre. That means to say that no one is capable of rendering unto Him suitable praise. Major est omni laude virtus qua condidit naturam rerum et sustinet molem gravem terram. For he excels every praise with reference to the strength and the eternal might by which is created the nature

of things, and which supports the immensity and the weight of the earth without any commutation.

- D. Et sapientiae Ejus non est numerus, i.e. Pater cognoscit qualitatem omnium rerum. The knowledge and wisdom of the Lord are abundant - that is to say, no matter how numerous and diverse creatures are, there is nothing among them which is unclear to Him.
- E. Suscipiens mansuetos Dominus, i.e. humiles ad imaginem Dei legi non adversantes. The Lord takes unto Himself into His family the well-intentioned and the meek. That group maintain within themselves always the similarity and image of God, and do not go contrary to the law of the Father.
- F. Humiliat haec peccatores, i. est solos mansuetis contrarios, scilicet inmites, et ad promerendum scripturarum intellectum mansuetudinem carentes. Therefore, He weakens and humbles sinners. They constitute that particular group which is opposed to the meek, and whose lack of charity and meekness prevent them from understanding the meaning of the Holy Scripture.

Usque ad terram, i. est, usque ad sapientiam terrenarum vel usque ad sensus carnis. He humbles them unto the earth, that is to say, unto earthly knowledge, or unto the senses.

H. Si igitur mansuetos, i. est mites bona Domini in terra viventium possessuros esse certum est, quid aliud peccatores isti, i. est immites et non mansueti qui eis contrarii sunt nisi sempiterna supplicia in generibus suis possidebunt, i.e. If it is certain, therefore, that there is an abundance of heavenly rewards for the meek and for the considerate, what else will the proud, the impious, and the uncharitable receive, unless an abundance of storms of the eternal punishments according to the various kinds.

The text of this prologue is taken from Windisch (IT. i, pp.169-170). The Latin is badly garbled in the MS. I have accepted Windisch's restoration, introducing only one emendation, viz. viventium for vivendum (sect. H, line 47). In the Irish text the abbreviation oīe has been emended to cuirthe (sect. C, line 14). Both text and

translation have been divided into subsections to bring out the structure of the prologue.

This prologue is a long and well written commentary on the fifth and sixth verses of Psalm CXLVI (Vulgate-text). The author quotes both verses in full, and provides each in turn with an expanded translation (sections A and B). Then he explains the role of the Holy Spirit in inspiring David. (First half of sect. C). Then, having subdivided the two verses into four λέμματα , he proceeds to comment on each lemma in turn (second half of C, D, E, F, and G). In sect. H, he so interprets the words mansuetos and peccatores as to prepare the way for the coming vision: the rewards of the meek are contrasted with the punishments of the sinners.

The interpretation given to these verses was common in both eastern and western exegesis. This can easily be verified by consulting the commentaries of Hilary or Augustine. The author doubtless had such a commentary before him as he wrote. From this commentary he derived the lemmata and the Latin glosses thereon. These glosses he either translated or paraphrased as he understood them. In some instances he came quite close to the sense of Augustine in the Enarratio

in Ps. CXLVI.

Thus, with sections F and G the following passage may be compared: Reprehendentes Scripturas mysticis quibusdam rebus salubriter tegentes intelligentiam, ut parvuli exerceantur, et ipsa reprehensione immites facti, quod contrarium est mansuetis, humiliati sunt usque ad terram, ut incorporalem Deum sentire non possent, et quidquid de Deo cogitarent, nonnisi corporaliter cogitarent. (OSA, iv, col. 2344 ad c). For G cf. also the following words: Caro ista per quinque nuntios quosdam, quos appellamus sensus, percipit nonnisi corporalia: intelligibilia vero, et spiritualia mente capiuntur. Quia ergo illi (sc. Manichaei) obscuritatem Scripturarum irriserunt, quae propterea clausae erant, ut pulsantes exerceantur, non ut parvulis negarentur, humiliati sunt usque ad terram, ut cogitare amplius non possent, quam quod per terram percipitur. (l.c., col. 2344B). On the interpretation of peccatores, cf.: Peccatores ergo hoc loco immites, et eos qui mansueti non sunt, intelligimus. Quare humiliat usque ad terram? Reprehendunt intelligibilia, terrena sensuri sunt. (l.c., col. 2343, ad C).

Judging from these similarities of thought, the author used a cento-like commentary in which extracts from Augustine played a large part.

Such a prologue was probably chosen in order to

fit the vision for homiletic use. The commentary he used provided the author with a scriptural passage, and an appropriate bit of exegesis. It makes a good prelude for introducing the vision to a learned audience.

TEXT, TRANSLATION, and COMMENTARY

BASED ON THE VERSION OF

LU

Fís Adamnán só síis.

1. Is uasal ocus is adamraigthe in Comdiu
na ndúla ocus is mor ocus is machdaígthe a nert
ocus a ohumachta. Is cennais ocus is áilgen, is
trócar ocus is dearcach; ar tócurid dochum nímí
chucí lucht na deirce ocus na trócaire, na censa 5
ocus na connirole. Tairbirid, immorro, ocus tra-
scaid dochum n-iffirnd cómtinól n-écaibdech n-
étarbach na mac mallachtan. Arfuirid derritussa
ocus focraice écsamla nímí dona bennachtnachaib,
ocus tairbirid illatu pían n-écsamail dona maccaib 10
báis.

This below is the Vision of Adamnan.

Lofty and wonderful is the Lord of crea-
tures, and great and marvellous is His strength
and His power. He is mild and kind, merciful
and loving, for He draws into heaven unto Himself
the charitable and the merciful, the meek and the
considerate; but He carries off, and plunges into
hell the impious, unprofitable assembly of the
wicked. He gives the mysteries and various re-
wards of heaven to the blessed, and bestows an
abundance of various sufferings upon the children
of death.

Lines 1-11. The Prologue: It is quite difficult to determine whether or not this prologue formed an original part of the Fis. It is missing in P. It is fitting insofar as the anagogical interpretation of Psalm CXLVI forms a suitable prelude to the content of the Fis. As it appears in LU, the Prologue is a summary, much reduced, of the LB Prologue. The text of LU adds one sentence, and considerably changes another. The relationship of the two texts can be seen in the following table where the sentences used from LB are placed beside the LU Prologue:

LU:

Is uasal ocus is adam-
raigthe in Comdiu na
ndula, ocus is mor ocus
is machdaigthe a nert
ocus a chumachta.

Is cennais ocus is
ailgen, is trocar ocus
is deareach.

Ar tocuirid dochum nime
chuci lucht na deirce
ocus na trocaire, na
censai ocus na connir-
cle;

tairbirid immorro ocus
traseraid dochum n-
iffirnd continol n-
ecraibdech n-estabach
na mac mallachtan.

LB:

Is uasal ocus is adamra
in Comdiu, is mor ocus is
machtnaigi a nert ocus a
chumachta . . .

(Lacking)

Tocuirid dano in Coimdid
chuice docum nime lucht
na derci ocus na trocaire
ocus na cendsa ocus na
condirole.

Toirbirid tra ocus traseraid
docum talman ocus ifirn
comthinol n-estabach na
mac mallachtan.

Arfuirid derritussa oc-
us foreraice ecsamla nini
dona bennahtnachaib ocus
tairbirid illatu pian
n-ecsamail dona maccaib
bais.

Masa erdalta iarom immad
na fochraice nemdai dona
condsaib ocus dona coin-
dirolechaib, cid aile bias
dona hecendsaib ocus dona
hecraibdechu ocus dona
hetrocairib acht immud
abbthine na peni suthaine
iar n-ernaillib ecsamlaib.

All Latin has been eliminated from the LU-prologue. Perhaps the redactor of LU was led to make the reduction in the text because he failed to understand the extensive Latin quotations in the LB-prologue. It will be noted that no Latin is quoted throughout the IU-text. LB preserves only one other bit of Latin, in sect. 19. There is thus not enough Latin in the Vision to say with certainty that the original was composed in Latin, or even derived directly from Latin sources. The LB prologue merely proves that a Latin commentary on the Psalms was used in its composition. It does not form an integral part of the Vision; it has merely been adapted to serve as an introduction. This adaptation and combining of originally unconnected materials is, however, a marked characteristic of Medieval homiletic, and is to be observed frequently in the Vision of Adamnan. Though such a process of combination seems to reveal a poor sense of literary structure, it cannot be criticised from this viewpoint. It was

the result of the constant excerpting that created the florilegia of the Middle Ages. Like the collections of exempla and the stereotyped miracula, so too homiletic materials were gathered under certain general headings, and could be used whenever the subject had only a general bearing on the matter to be discussed or preached. After a minute examination of the Vision of Adamnan, it will be seen that many of the motifs came from the most diverse sources. In fact, this characteristic has caused some critics, who judge the work from modern standards of prose composition, to assume numerous interpolations, an assumption which is all the more tempting because of the obvious shortened condition of the text as preserved for us. However, anyone acquainted with the struggling vernacular prose of insular popular homiletic in the tenth and eleventh centuries will see nothing too uncommon in this seemingly haphazard combination and assimilation of originally unrelated materials.

The IU prologue in its present form also suggests, from the beginning of the Vision, a tendency to shorten the text. This tendency will be observed repeatedly as the Vision is examined. The result is, in many instances, an obscurity of motif-relationship that baffles the modern reader in his attempt to read into the text a logical

eschatological theory expressed in logically arranged graphic details. Unfortunately, there were few Dantes among medieval homilists. To gain an adequate knowledge of such a text we are forced to trace back the individual motifs to comparable material in the great body of apocryphal literature that circulated in the Middle Ages. Thus we can partially reconstruct the materials used, see their interrelationship, and form some idea of the original of the Vision of Adamnan.

2.

Sochaidí trá do naembaib ocus d'fírenaib
 in Comded na ndúla ocus d'apstalaib ocus descip-
 laib Isu Crist día ro faillsigtheá rúine ocus
 derriúsa flatha nímí fón cumma sin, ocus foch-
 raice fororda na firén ocus dano día ro faill- 5
 sigtheá píana écsamla iffrind cosnaíib fillet
 intib. Ro foillsiged ém do Phetar apstal ind long
 cethararddidi doleced do nim ocus cethrí suanimain
 esti. Binnithir cach ceól a héstecht. Conúargabad
 dano Pól apstal cosin tres nem co cúala briathra 10
 diasnéte na n-aingel ocus imacallaim n-adamraigthe
 muintirí nímí. Ruchta dano beos ind apstail uli
 i llo estechta Muri co n-acoatár píana ocus todér-
 nama trúaga na ndáine n-anfechtnach día ro forcoín-
 gair in Comdiu for ainglib ind fuinid oslocud in 15
 talman ríasna apstalu co ro fégtáis ocus co ro
 innithmigtís hiffernd cona ilphíanaib amal do
 rairngertsom fessin dóib aní sin ré cían rena
 chésad.

Very many, indeed, are the saints and the
 just of the Lord of creatures, and apostles and
 disciples of Jesus Christ to whom have been re-
 vealed the mysteries and secrets of the Kingdom
 of Heaven in this manner, and the very golden

rewards of the just and to whom, moreover, were revealed the various punishments of hell together with those who are therein. Indeed, there was revealed to Peter the Apostle the rectangular vessel, with four cords upon it, which was let down from heaven: as sweet as any music was the listening to it. Moreover, Paul the Apostle was raised up to the third heaven so that he heard the ineffable words of the angels, and the marvelous conversation of the heavenly family. Furthermore, on the day of the death of Mary, all the apostles were transported so that they saw the pains and piteous sufferings of the unfortunate men, when the Lord commanded the angels of the West to open up the earth before the Apostles, in order that they might see and contemplate hell with its many torments, as He Himself promised this to them a long time before His passion.

Lines 1-4. This statement implies that the author is aware of an extensive apocalyptic literature. His work certainly illustrates this knowledge, for it would be difficult to find another vision which has combined so many traditions and so many motifs. The wording of these lines also implies

a distinction between Old and New Testament material by differentiating between the just of the "Comded na ndula", and the disciples of "Isu Crist". Unfortunately, there does not yet exist a thorough study of the survival of apocrypha in Ireland, but FA shows beyond doubt that much apocryphal literature little known today was read and utilised in the Celtic church. From this mass of imaginative literature it was relatively easy to select and recombine. FA reflects this syncretism throughout; it is a mosaic composed of pieces derived, at times, from conflicting theories of the next life. However, though FA in its present form may be discouraging because of its apparent lack of unity and its uncoordinated images, this second section shows that the author planned his work in two parts: a vision of heaven, and one of hell. Moreover, there are several remarks in the course of the text which reflect planning and conscious arrangement. Thus, there is a strong argument for the original unity of the work, a unity destroyed by the hand of the redactor, or by the unskilled attempt of a scribe to shorten the text.

Lines 4-6. The order of the revelations has already been stated in the Prologue. In the apocalyptic literature of the West, hell usually comes first. This is evident in

the visions of Laisren, and Drythelm. This was the probable sequence of Fursa's vision, for Bede (HE, 111.19) says that he enjoyed "copiosior caelestium agminum visio", after experiencing the "accusationes malignorum."

Lines 6-7: cosnafid filet intib. Many western visions give the names of historical personalities and describe their condition in the next life. Fursa sees Beanus and Meldanus, Tundale sees Donacus, Conchober, Cormac, Ruadan, Patrick and others. FA contains no such names, limiting itself to a statement of the classes of blessed and damned souls.

Lines 7-9: Peter's vision is in Acts, x.11: Et vidit caelum apertum, et descendens vas quoddam velut linteam magnum, quatuor initis submitti de caelo in terram. The music of this "vas" is an invention of the author of FA. It is another example of the tendency, so frequently met with in Irish literature, of ascribing music to objects belonging to the Happy Other World. This motif appears several times in the course of the vision. The meaning of this symbolic music is quite obvious: the world of the blessed is one of perfect harmony. This harmony is possessed by every thing from the Happy Other World. Hell, on the contrary, is filled with the rude

din of thunder, the music of hell is a cacophony. The distinction is nicely described in the section (14B) dealing with the gate of the heavenly city.

The author may have known an Apocalypse of Peter, but it is difficult to prove this. Yet the mention of Peter's vision seems to imply that the "vas quoddam" contained the "mysteries and secrets" of heaven and hell. The Akhmin-fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter does give the vision of heaven before that of hell, and is thus "fon cumma sin". In FA, sect. 32, is the following statement: Is e dano forcetol ba menciú dognid Petar ocus Pol ocus na apstail archena, .i. plana ocus focraice d'innisin, arro faillsigthea doib fon cuma cetna. This obviously implies similar visions in the same order, attributed to Peter and Paul, and forms an argument of probability that the Apocalypse of Peter was known to the writer of FA.

Lines 9-12: Paul's vision is in 2 Cor.xii,2-4. There is more probability that the Visio Pauli was known to the author. Brandes' edition shows the popularity of the legend in Western Europe in both Latin and the vernacular languages. It may be pointed out that the declared

order of revelations in VPL corresponds with that of FA:

"Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Sequere me, et ostendam tibi locum iustorum ubi ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint, et post hec adsumens te in abyssum ostendam tibi animas peccatorum, in qualem locum ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint".
(ed. James, pp.14-15)

Lines 12-14. The tradition of a vision of hell granted to the Apostles on the day of the death of Mary (Transitus Mariae) is obscure. The closest resemblance to the statement in FA is found in a Syriac apocryphon (s.v. -vi) first published by Wright in 1865. He entitled the piece Obsequies of the Lady Mary. It is the same apocryphon used in the Irish version of the Transitus as found in LFF and Bodleian Land Misc. 610 (see JTS, xxiii, 36 ff.). The section of interest here reads as follows:

And after these things the Apostles say to our Lord: "Lord you said to us when you were with us, when we asked you that we might see the grave of Mary, that it would be well for us"; and you said to us: "If you wish to see this, wait until the day of the departing of Mary, and I will lead you, and you will see the dead". And when these things were said by the blessed Apostles, our Lord made a sign with His eyes, and a cloud snatched away the Apostles, and Mary, and Michael, and Our Lord with them, and carried them to where the sun sets, and left them there. And our Lord spoke to the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upwards, and the pit was revealed in the midst of the earth.
(ed. Wright, Syriac Text, p. 6)

The vision following has no connection with that in FA. The last sentence quoted corresponds closely with sect. 2, lines 12-18.

Line 15. for ainglib ind fuinid. The situation of the underworld in the West is so very common that it needs no illustrations. The "angels of the West" are mentioned specifically in the Greek Apocalypse of Mary: *τότε ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, καὶ ἔχανεν ὁ ἄδης καὶ εἶδεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ κολαζομένους* (ed. James, p. 116).

Lines 18-19: re cian rena chesad. It is difficult to trace any such promise in apocalyptic tradition. LB reads "gar rena chesad", P omits any reference. The Syriac apocryphon quoted above is no help in this matter. There may be a reference to this idea in

Scela lai bratha:

Isu Crist mac De bi slaniciid ind ule domain,
in tres perso na deachta uasli, as chomsuthain
ocus as comfolbthaide dond Athair ocus don Spir-
ut Naem, iss e ro raid na scela sa gair bio riana
chesad do folsigud na tuarascabala bias do fein
i llo bratha cona noemaib ocus cona firenaib.
(LU: 2307-2311)

This passage refers to the eschatological matters of Matt. xxiv-xxv, where the last things are being described by

Christ. The gospel contains no direct promise. However, the author may have had these passages in mind. If such a "promise" were contained in the apocryphal gospels, it would be quite natural to relate this promise with the eschatological portions of the synoptics. That such a process of association actually happened, and at an early date, is shown quite clearly in APA. Christ is speaking:

πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ὁδοὺς καὶ δόγματα ποικίλα τῆς ἀπωλείας διδάξουσι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας γενήσονται. Καὶ τότε ἐλεύσεται ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς μου τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας. Then occurs the strange interruption: καὶ προσθεὶς ὁ κύριος ἔφη· ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, εὐξώμεθα. ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐδεήθημεν, ὅπως δείξῃ ἡμῖν ἓνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δικαίων τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα ἴδωμεν ποταποὶ εἶσι τὴν μορφήν, καὶ θαρσήσαντες παρὰ θαρσύνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους

(ed. Dieterich, p.2). Then follow the visions of the just brethren, of heaven, and of hell. Here an Evangelium Petri has been interrupted by an Apocalypsis Petri.

The correct reading for the passage in FA is then, in all probability, "gar rena chesad", "a short time before His passion".

3.

Ro faillsiged dano ró deóid do Adamnán
 u Thinne, do ardeonaí éarthair domain, labair-
 thir sund, día ro escomlá a anim asa churp hi
 feil Iohain Baptist agus día rucad dochum richid
 co n-ainglib nímí agus íffrind cona dáe-(s)-corslúag 5

O ro scar íarom ind anim frisin corp, ro
 arthraig fo chétóir di aingel a comaithehta céin
 baí hi colaind, agus ros fuc leis ar thúis do fegad
 flatha nímí.

Finally, then, that which is spoken here
 was revealed to Adamnan u Thinne, a great scholar
 of the western world, when his soul departed from his
 body on the feast of John the Baptist and was brought
 to the heavenly kingdom with the angels of heaven
 and to hell with its rabble host.

Now, when his soul separated from his body,
 the angel of its guarding appeared to it immedi-
 ately, and took it with him to see first the King-
 dom of Heaven.

 Lines 1-2. Adamnan u Thinne. For Adamnan, and the attri-
 bution of the vision to him, see Introduction, p. 52.

Note that the vision is reported in the third person, and is not a narrative by Adamnan.

Lines 3-4: I feil Johain Baptist. Why the feast of John the Baptist has been selected as the occasion for the vision is not very clear. However, this may be an early reference to the fear which became crystallised in the panic of 1096 to the effect that great calamity would befall the Irish for their responsibility in the decollation of John the Baptist (Mog-Ruith legend). If the tension described in the Annals of the Four Masters (sub anno MXCVI) was general, then it was a proper atmosphere for such visions. For the legend see SEHI, pp.749-753.

Kate Muller-Lisowski published a convenient collection of texts dealing with the legend in ZCP XIV (1923), pp. 145-63. According to the so-called Second Vision of Adamnan, special danger existed when the Feast of the Decollation occurred in a bissextile and embolismal year at the end of a cycle. The connection of Adamnan with this tradition is perhaps significant. Yet, the text of FA as we have it contains little material that could be directly associated with a feeling of panic. The parainetic element is rather slight; indeed, there are no direct appeals for conversion and penance. The vision seems more like a defense

of an eschatological theory than a call to a religious renovation.

Lines 4-5. Note that the order of the vision is again stressed.

Line 6: o ro scar iarom ind anim frisin corp. The vision is granted to the soul alone. Cf. Vision of Fursa (HE 111.19): ubi correptus infirmitate, sicut libellus de vita ejus conscriptus sufficienter edocet, raptus est e corpore; et a vespera usque ad Galli cantum, corpore exutus, angelicorum agminum et aspectus intueri, et laudes beatas meruit audire. (Pl. 164). Likewise, Tundale's soul alone sees the next world. The separation of soul and body is found also in CCC: ocus tainio anfad mor doib iarsin, ocus ro hetarsearad a n-anmanna rena cor-paid, ocus rucad iad iarsin do dechain nime ocus ifirnd, amal ro thaisbenad dona hapstalaib. (ed. WS, p. 140). This is obviously modelled after FA 3, but could have been easily omitted, had the author not felt that the next world could not be seen while in the body.

Line 7: aingel a comaitechta. Lit. "the angel of his accompaniment", translated when it occurs as "guardian angel". It is an exact equivalent of ἄγγελος ἀποκομίζων (see sect. 6, comm. to lines 7-10)

Fursa was accompanied by three angels: ". . . de tribus angelis qui sibi in tota utraque visione ductores adfuerunt". (Pl. 166) Drythelm is guided by an angel "lucidus . . . aspectu et clarus . . . indumento". (HE v.12, Pl. 304). In apocalyptic literature we sometimes find two angels assigned to a soul, one good, one bad. An interesting early passage to this effect is found in 4 Bar. (ed. James, pp.92-93). The idea is also found in Irish literature. In DBFN, the soul at the last judgment will be accompanied by two guardians, one bad, the other good: "A demon comaitechta oc taithmet do each uile do rigne, ar no bid side for a laim chli-seom dogres oc a forcomet. A aingel comaitechta dana for a laim deis oc taithmet do an dorigne do maith". (ed. Dottin, p. 380). According to FA, the guardian angel remains with the soul at least until the final arrangement ensuing upon the last judgment, and perhaps longer. See sect. 6, lines 7-10. (and the comm. thereon).

4. Is sí dano cétna tír coso rancatár tír na naeb. Tír sutach solusta iarom in tír sin. Airechta écsamla inganta and co easlaib lín gil impu, co culpaitib glógelaib úasa cennaib. naim airthir in domain ina n-airiucht fo leith i n-airthiur thiri na naem. Naim íarthair in domain dano i n-íarthur in tíre cetna. Náim thúascirt in domain dano ocus a descirt ina ndíb n-airechtaib dermáraib tess ocus tuaid. Cach óen íarom fil i tír ina náeb is cómfocus dó estecht inna ceól ocus innithmígud inna luinge hi faillet .ix. ngrad nime íarna cémon-naib ocus íarna n-urd.

5

The first land they arrived at was the land of the saints. That is a fruitful and luminous land. There are various wonderful groups there with tunics of white linen upon them, with shining white hoods upon their heads. The saints of the eastern part of the world are assembled apart in the eastern part of the land of the saints. The saints of the West, moreover, are in the western part of the same land. The saints of the northern part of the world, and those of the

South are in two large groups in the South and the North. Therefore, everyone who is in the land of the saints can easily hear the music and contemplate the vessel in which are the nine orders of heaven according to their degrees and their rank.

Lines 1-2: *tir na naeb*. This appellation, "land of the saints", is the first of a series of images (which may be called "geographic") used to describe the next world. By analogy hell is called *tir inna pian*, "land of the torments" in sect. 29B. The descriptive terms applied to the "kingdom of heaven" are by no means consistent throughout the vision. See the comm. to section 14, lines 1-6.

Line 2: *tir sutach solusta*. The author does not tarry long here in his description of this terra sanctorum, but the two adjectives *sutach*, *solusta* do sum up the characteristics usually stressed in such descriptions. Cf. the description of heaven in ΑΡΑ: *καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι μέγιστον χώρον ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ὑπέρλαμπρον τῷ φωτί, καὶ τὸν αἶρα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτῖσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον καὶ τὴν γῆν*

αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἀνθεσι καὶ ἄρω-
μάτων πλήρη καὶ φυτῶν εὐανθῶν καὶ ἀφθάρτων
καὶ καρπὸν εὐλογημένον φερόντων· τοσοῦτον δὲ
ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς ὄσμην καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐκείθεν
φέρεσθαι (ed. Dieterich, p.4).

Lines 3-4. The raiment of the blessed may have been suggested by the monastic habit, at least in so far as the "hoods" are concerned. The white garments are common to nearly all apocalyptic. Cf. the following passages: 2 Cor. v.3,4: Ap. Joh. iii.4,5,18; iv. 4; vi.11; vii.9,13,14; 4 Esdras 11, 39, 45; 1 En. cviii.12.

Lines 5-9. This arrangement according to the four cardinal points may have been suggested by Matt. xxiv.31: ". . . et congregabunt electos eius a quatuor ventis, a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum"; or Matt. viii.11: "Dico autem vobis, quod multi ab Oriente et Occidente venient, et recumbent cum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob in regno caelorum". Cf. SE: Is and sin faidfed in Comdiu a techtaire uasli .i. na aingliu noema fon n-uli ndomon, ocus tinolfait na huli firenu a cetri ardaib in talman, ocus nos berat leo .hi comdail Crist isin n-aer. (LU: 2521-2523)

Lines 11-12: innithmigud inna luinge. The word "long" used

here is rather difficult to render. WS translated it "vessel", Bosw. gives "vault," and queries "nave" in a footnote. It is used as the equivalent of *vas* in section 2, line 7 (*long cethararddidi*). The primary meaning of the word is "ship" (*navis longa*). Had the word occurred in section 5B, or in sect. 13, then it would be reasonable to translate it by "nave". As the text states, this long is in view of those in the tir na naem. I am inclined to think that here the word should be rendered "globe", or "sphere". At least this would imply something like a container. It would be a "ship" in so far as it floats. It was probably this mode of thought which led to the translation of vas quoddam (of Peter's vision) as "long": it floated (in the sea of the air), and it contained something. Irish stories about the "ship in the air" would support this interpretation (see: K. H. Jackson, A Celtic Miscellany, p.178-9). It will be remembered that Dante (Par. xxviii) places the nine choirs in the crystalline heaven, which is, of course, a sphere. Dante derived his material from Dionysius' De Caelesti Hierarchia. Since the author of FA mentions the nine choirs arranged according to their degrees and rank (lines 12-13), it is reasonable to suppose that his material goes back to the same source. (i.e. De Caelesti Hierarchia, chapters 7-9). The "degrees and rank" then

refers to Dionysius' division of the nine choirs (Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominions, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels) into three hierarchies. The vessel they are in is the primum mobile.

5. Indara fecht dano dona naebaib canait
 ceol n-adamra oc molad Dé. In fecht n-aill con-
 túaset fri ceól muintire nime. Ar ní recat a
 les ind naim ní aile acht éstecht, in ceóil risa
 coistet, ocus innithmígud inna soilse addécet, 5
 ocus a sásad don boltnogud fil is tír.

Atá flaith adamra dano fri gnúis do gnúis dóib
 úathib sáerdes, ocus fíal glainide etarro ocus
 erdam orda fris anes. Is trítside immaiccetsom
 fúath ocus fóscugud muintire nime. Ní fil immórro 10
 fíal no temel eter muntir nime ocus inna nóemu
 acht itát i foilse ocus i frecnarcus dóib i lleth
 friusom do grés. Circull tentide dano imón tír
 sin imma cuaird ocus cách ind ocus ass ocus ní
 erchótigend. 15

Sometimes the saints sing a marvellous
 music, praising God; at other times they listen
 to the music of the heavenly family - for the
 saints need to do nothing but hear the music to
 which they listen, and contemplate the bright-
 ness which they behold, and sate themselves with
 the fragrance which is in the land.

A marvellous Prince is there, face to face

with them in the South-East. A crystal veil is between them (and Him), and there is a golden porch to the South of Him. Through this they behold the form and separation of the heavenly family. Moreover, there is no veil nor obscurity between the heavenly family and the saints, but they (the saints) are always in their presence and vicinity on the side facing them. Furthermore, there is a circle of fire round about this land, and every one (may go) in and out, and it harms not.

Lines 1-2. The singing of the blessed in heaven is a commonplace in religious literature. Cf. the words of the Te Deum:

Tibi omnes Angeli;
Tibi caeli et universae Potestates
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim
incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus
Dominus Deus Sabaoth
.....
.....
Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus;
Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus;
Te Martyrum candidatus
Laudat exercitus.

In the APA, the singing of the blessed is thus described: καὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν

εὐφραϊνόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ

(ed. Dieterich, p.4). Cf. Augustine in En. in Ps.

CXLVIII: Quale praeceptum putatis habere coelestia et Angelos sanctos? Quale praeceptum dedit illis Deus? Quale, nisi ut laudent illum? Beati, quorum hoc est negotium, laudare Deum (OSA, iv, col. 2387).

Line 5: innithmigud inna soilse addecet: There is an impressive statement of the brightness in the seventh heaven in SBH: "Und ich sah daselbst ein überaus grosses Licht, und alle feurigen Heere der grossen Erzengel und der leiblosen Kräfte und Herrschaften, der Principien und Mächte, der Cherubim und Seraphim, der Trone und Vielaugigen, zehn Legionen, die leuchtenden Stände der Ophanim . . . Und sie zeigten mir den Herrn von ferne . . . und alle Heerscharen des Himmels . . . ; und wieder traten sie auf ihre Plätze in Freude und in Fröhlichkeit und in unermesslichem Licht, singend Lieder mit leisen und sanften Stimmen." (ed. Bonwetsch, pp.18-19).

Light, brightness, and splendour are the dominant characteristics of the heavenly otherworld of FA. Indeed, the contemplation of this brilliance is the Beatific Vision. Deity itself is a flaming fire according to section 10.

Line 6: *boltnugud*. Although the heaven of FA has been highly spiritualised, it does retain at least the fragrance associated with the earthly paradise. It recalls the many references to the fragrance of the Land of the Blessed in Greek and Latin classical literature. Cf.

Lucian's description: *ἤδη δὲ πλησιόν ἡμεν καὶ θαυμασ-
τή τις αὖρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐώδης, . . .
οἷον γὰρ ἀπὸ ῥόδων καὶ ναρκίσσων καὶ ὑακίνθων καὶ
κρίνων καὶ ἴων, ἔτι δὲ μυρρίνης καὶ δάφνης καὶ
ἀμπελάνθης, τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸ ἥδὺ προσέβαλεν*

(Ver. hist. 11, 5) There are many references to fragrant odours in 1 En., especially sections xxiv-xxxii (ed. Charles, pp. 51-61).

Lines 7-13. As already hinted in the commentary on sect. 4 (lines 9-11), the topography of the heavenly regions in FA is somewhat vague. No matter what visual image one may care to suggest for this section, the author is quite aware of the difficulty of description as he states in section 6: *Ni ohumaic tra nech isin bith frecnairosea tuarasobail no innisin inna n-airecht sin, amal itat iar fir*, (lines 10-12). The difficulty with any one graphic image is that it fails to fit all the characteristics of the heavenly regions as they are described in successive sections of the vision.

As will be discovered (see esp. sect. 11), there are several layers of imagery which are blended or juxtaposed in the description of the heavenly city. There is no logical plan for this blending, and the author slips from one image to another, coordinating major details, but overlooking fine points. Thus, in the course of the vision we find aspects of heaven described as a plain, ship, temple (church), city, and these images are intermingled and confused. Apparently the author was aware of many possibilities from other apocalyptic material, and seems unwilling to sacrifice some of them in order to gain unity of visual-imagery. This blending of several layers of apocalyptic tradition is one of the most striking features of FA, and extends not only to its imagery, but also to its eschatological theory. Whatever the image the author had in mind here, the point he is striving to make is that the saints perceive God through a veil, but they enjoy direct visual contact with the muintir nime - which term here means the angelic hosts. The description is intended to show that the ultimate state of bliss has not yet been granted to the saints. Their present state is a temporary condition. After the Day of Judgment the veil will be removed.

In Talmudic speculation, the souls of the just are sometimes represented as in storehouses under the Throne of God. ($\text{הַבַּיִת הַקָּדוֹשׁ}$). Thus in TB, Shab. 152 b they are said to be "hidden" (genuzoth). This is very similar to the position of the martyrs in Apoc. 6.9: *καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξε τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστήριου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον.*

The idea is parallel to that of FA.: the direct fruition of God must wait until after the general judgment has taken place. The altar-idea (cf. *θυσιαστήριον* above) doubtlessly influenced the author in representing the Throne of God as resting on four columns. It would seem that in FA, sections 7-11, the author has combined elements derived from the interior of a church with descriptive elements found in the Merkaba-literature.

Line 10: *fuath ocus foscugud muintire nime.* This refers to the arrangement of the angelic choirs "immaig muintire nime, im rigsuid in Comded fessin" to be described in sections 7-10. For comparison, the description of the heavenly hosts in SBH, ed. Bonwetsch, pp. 18-19 may be consulted. That the author had some similar arrangement in mind has already been suggested by sect. 4, lines 12-13:

noi n-grad nime iarna cemennaib oculus iarna n-urd.

Lines 13-15: circull tentide. This fiery boundary recalls descriptions of the earthly paradise, as do also the occupations of the blessed, the light, and the fragrance.

In the first centuries of Christianity the abode of the dead was a much argued question. In the second and third centuries it was a common opinion that all souls remained "in carcere seu deversario inferum" (Tertull. de An. 7,4). This teaching is also found in Justin, Clement of Alexander, Novatian. The "deversarium" came to be equivalent to a kind of paradise, the situation of which was a subject of controversy. Irenaeus (contra Haer. 5,31,2), who maintained that the just did not go to heaven directly, writes: Cum enim Dominus in medio umbrae mortis abierit, ubi animae mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est: manifestum est, quia et discipulorum eius, propter quos et haec operatus est Dominus, animae abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem. Tertullian made exception only for the martyrs: Nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum, nisi ex martyrii praerogativa, paradiso scilicet, non inferis deversurus (de res. 43). How-

ever, in an earlier work (apol. 47,13), he took a more lenient view: Si paradisum nominemus, locum divinae amoenitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus destinatum, maceria quadam igneae illius zonae a notitia orbis communis segregatum. This region of the martyrs Tertullian seems to place in heaven: Et quomodo Iohanni in spiritu paradisi regio revelata, quae subicitur altari, nullas alias animas apud se praeter martyrum ostendit? (De An. 55,4).

The special privilege of martyrs was a widely recognised, indeed almost universally accepted idea. However, the term was capable of a broad interpretation, and with a theorist like Clement of Alexandria, martyr came to mean a virtuous soul: *πᾶσα ἡ καθαρῶς πολιτευσάμενη ψυχὴ μετ' ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπακηκουῖα, μάρτυς ἐστὶ καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ, ὅπως ποτὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάττεται, οἷον αἷμα τὴν πίστιν ἀνὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον προχέουσα* (Strom. iv.15.3). Cf. this interpretation with the definition of white and green (blue) martyrdom in the Cambrai Homily (Thes. Pal., pp244-7).

The placing of paradise in heaven, as in our text, represents a rather late development of eschatological

thought. However, it should be stressed that this region is not yet the one of final bliss - the veil is still there, and the final ranking of the blessed has not yet taken place.

A reasonable starting point for the "fiery circle" which is now about the heavenly paradise is Gen.3.24: the cherubim with the flaming swords to protect the garden. It may be recalled here that in the hokal of the Temple, and about the Holy of Holies, figures of Cherubim were used. These heavenly watchers were associated with fire. Later the fire and the watchers became separated, so that sometimes one, sometimes both are found protecting heaven (= the transferred paradise). Thus, e.g., in the Koran, sura 72 we read (vs. 8) that the djinn found heaven watched by strict watchers and flames of fire (sihab). In vs. 9 we are told that the flames of fire kept watch to prevent the djinn from penetrating and listening in heaven.

In our text, the obvious function of the fire is a protective one - only certain souls are allowed to penetrate this region and they have free access: "ocus cach ind ocus ass ocus ni erchotigend." As in so many instances in our text, the author fails to state the reason. Perhaps the explanation is found in Origen who (in the Homil.in Luc., xxiv, ed. Lomm. V, 179) says that the souls of the just after

death first arrive at a place called Paradise, but before they can enter they are baptised by Christ in a baptism of fire in the river of fire which surrounds Paradise. Only those who on earth were baptised with water and the Holy Ghost are admitted to this baptism of fire, for only they can cross the fiery river.

This "baptism of paradise" is found also in Caesarius of Arles (MPL xxxix, 1947-1948) and Hilary of Poitiers (in Ps. CXVIII, MPL, ix, 522-523). In these two writers, however, it is associated with the last judgment. Hilary (loc.cit.) expressly compares the purgatorial fire of the judgment to the "flaming sword which turned every way" of Gen. 3,24. According to Ambrose (in Ps. CXVIII, sermo 20, 20, MPL xv. 1487) all must pass through fire to reach paradise: omnes oportet per ignem probari quicumque ad paradysum redire desiderant. There are many interesting early passages on the effects of this fire. Epiphanius, de Haeres, 1,1 (MPG XLI, 1152) has a passage commenting on Ps. LXV, 12: Transivimus per ignem et aquam et eduxisti nos in refrigerium, which runs as follows: ὁ θεὸς παντοκράτωρ ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σου διαβάντι τὸ πῦρ ἀναλγητὶ, καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς τὴν καυστικὴν

✓ μεταβλεθέντες φύσιν, ὑπεξαλύξαντι τὰς ὁρμᾶς,
 Διήλθον διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐξήγαγές με
 εἰς ἀνάψυσιν. Σὺ γὰρ αὕτη τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε ἡ
 ἐπαγγελία ἐὰν διαβαίνεις δι' ὕδατος, μετὰ σοῦ
 εἶμι. καὶ ποταμοὶ οὐ συγκλείσουσί σε καὶ
 διαβαίνης διὰ πυρὸς, οὐ μὴ κατακαύσασαί σε.

In FA this advantage for the just is amply illustrated later on in the sections describing the ascent of the seven heavens. Those who have the requisite qualities are not harmed by the fire. So far as the present section (5) is concerned, I interpret the words "ind ocús ass" to refer to the ingression and egression of the fiery circle. There would be no point in a repeated crossing of the barrier.

What has been said here about the fiery circle (= Tertullian's "igneae zona") may be said with equal application of the veil of fire and ice in the entrance to the first door of the heavenly city (sect. 14). This is another example of the blending of traditions in FA. The paradise idea has been contaminated with the seven-heavens-motif. The latter involved, as a common feature, hazards made up of polar opposites. In sect. 14, this veil is

made to perform the same functions as the "circull tentide", i.e. it is a barrier, the passage of which demands certain qualifications in the celestial wayfarer.

There is, however, one tradition which might save the author from another charge of inconsistency. The "circull tentide" of the present section may be a purificatory stream, intended for the (ritualistic) purification of those performing celestial duties, especially the chanting of the divine praises. The tradition developed from rabbinical speculations on the נְהַר דִּי-נֹר (Nehar di-Nur) of Dan. 7.10. This fiery river was connected with the ministering angels of the same verse, and was thought of as a purificatory bath for them before they chanted the heavenly songs. In 3 En., chapt. xviii, the Nehar di-Nur serves as a barrier about the merkaba (i.e. it surrounds the Araboth Raqia). Later it became associated with the purgation of sins after death, and with the last judgment. In all probability the Nehar di-Nur was the source of all the fiery rivers of heaven. In Chag. 13b (TB), it drips down into Gehenna to torment sinners. The Jewish tradition may be gathered from the following sources: 1 En. xiv. 19; Beresith Rabba lxxviii; Midras Eka 111, 21; TB, Chag. 13b; Hekaloth Rabbathi xiii.

The river is expressly described as a bath for the angels and a torment for the wicked in Ma^cyan Chokma (BH 1.58-64).

The Nehar di-Nur is represented in 3 En. (xxxi11.5) as flowing down through the seven heavens (which are named in descending order). This fiery river may well be the origin of the numerous rivers of fire distributed among the seven heavens in FA. Cf. the following passage from Clem. Alex. (Exc. Theod. 38): ποταμός ἐκπορεύεται πυρὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ῥεῖ εἰς τὸ κενὸν τοῦ ἐκτισμένου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ χέεννα . . . καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τόπος πύρινός ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο, φησὶ, καταπέτασμα ἔχει ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τῆς προσόψεως ἀναλωθῇ τὰ πράγματα.

Dante retains the fiery barrier about the earthly paradise. Those who have passed through all the purifications of the seven cornices of Purgatory must pass through this fire. The situation is remarkably similar in Adamnan: after ascending the purgatorial heavens, the souls are not admitted to the "tir na naeb" until they have passed the "cirull tentide".

E cantava: Beati mundo corde,
In voce assai più che la nostra viva
Poscia: Più non si va, se pria non morde,
Anime sante, il foco: entrate in esso,
Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde.
(Purg. xxvii, 8-12)

The fire in Dante is harmless (like the cirull

tentide) to those who get that far. Virgil reassures Dante thus:

Credi per certo che, se dentro all 'alvo
Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill'anni
Non ti potrebbe far d'un capel calvo.
(Purg. xxvii, 25-27)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON LINE 8: "fial glainide."

The closest symbolic parallel I have been able to find to this veil occurs in 3 EN. In this work there is a curtain about the MAQOM (Divine Presence), behind which only certain privileged angels are allowed to penetrate. Thus the angels of the seventh heaven are divided into two sections. This curtain of the Divine Glory (בִּרְפָּא וְלִי אֵלֹהִים) corresponds to the Mandaitic bar goda, and Gk. καταπέτασμα. It parallels the veil of the Temple (see TB, Yoma, 77a). This curtain symbolises the greatest secrets of Divinity. The pargod serves as a heavenly tablet, reflecting the picture of all history. To penetrate the pargod is to become acquainted with the most intimate secrets and mysteries of God. In the Mandaitic Ginza Right, it is described how Dinanukt penetrated this veil (Bar goda): "Then they opened to him the door of life, and lifted up for him the Bar Goda of security . . . And Dinanukt stood in the abode of light . . . " (ed. Petermann, GR. vi.212, 21).

Similarly, Adamnan seems to have penetrated the veil when he describes the brilliance which is "i mmaig muintire nime" in sect. 7. As noted in the Introduction, the movement of the soul of the seer is not clearly defined in the vision. I do believe, however, that the source used by the author meant to imply the impenetration of the pargod, so that the description of the throne and the MAQOM might be brought to men. That the soul of the seer in FA did get beyond the porch and the veil is certainly implied in 31A, after the vision of hell is completed. This still further confuses the geography of the next world, for why should it be necessary to pass the porch and the veil in order to see hell? An attempt is made to answer this question in the comm. to line 4 in section 21. Here the important point is that the seer does pass the veil. Unlike so many Apocalypses connected with the merkaba, FA does not include a revelation of cosmological or historical secrets.

6. Na da apstal déo immórró, agus Maire óg
 ingen ina haireocht fó leith imón Comdíd cum-
 achtach. Úasalathraig agus fáde agus desceipuil
 Isu i comfocús dona apstalaib. Atát dano araile
 nóemóga do deis Maire agus ré nách cían etarro. 5
 Noídin agus maccaim impu do cach aird agus ceól
 enlathe muintire nime oca n-airfithiud. Buidne
 ana do ainglaib coimthechta inna n-anmand oc
 umallóit agus oc timthirecht eter na hairichtaib
 sin i fíadnaisi ind ríg do grés. Ní chumaio thra 10
 nech isin bith frechnaire sea túarasobail nó inn-
 isin inna n-airecht sin amal itát iar fír. Na
 buidne agus na hairichta dano filet i tír na náeb
 amal ro radsem bidat marthanaig isin mórglóir
 sin co mordaíl brátha co ros córaigea in brithem 15
 fíróin i llathe ind fugill isna sostaib agus isna
 inadaib i mbíat oc dóscin gnússe Dé cen fial con
 forscáth etarru tria bithu na mbetha.

The twelve Apostles, and Mary the Virgin
 are assembled apart about the powerful Lord.
 The patriarchs, the prophets and the disciples
 of Jesus are near the Apostles. Other holy
 virgins are on the right hand of Mary, and there

is no great interval between them (and her).

Children and youths surround them on every side, and the music of the bird-flock of the heavenly family entertains them. Bright bands of the guardian angels of the souls are serving and attending among these assemblies in the presence of the King forever. No one indeed, in this present life, can describe or relate those assemblies as they are in truth. The groups and bands which are in the land of the saints, as we have said, do be remaining in this great glory until the great assembly of the judgment, until the just Judge, on the day of sentence, arranges them in their stations and places, in which they will be seeing the face of God without veil and without shadow between them (and Him) for eternity.

Lines 1-7. As already suggested by the quotation from Clement Alex. (sect. 5, comm. to lines 13-15), the early church gradually enlarged the classes of those admitted to heaven. The people mentioned here consist of a. Heroes of the New Testament: the twelve Apostles, the Virgin Mary,

the disciples of Jesus, virgins, holy youths, b. the just of the Old Testament, the patriarchs and prophets. It is most convenient to deal with the second group first.

The just of the Old Law were admitted to heaven as a result of the "descensus ad inferos" of Christ. This theme, which became so familiar in the medieval tales of the Harrowing of Hell, was an important element in early eschatological theory, and was treated from every possible angle. The fact of Christ's descent into Hell was commonly accepted.

Quite early the idea developed that while 'apud inferos', Christ preached to the just. Thus in the Dialogue (72), Justin quotes pseudo-Jeremias: Ἐμνήσθη δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ.

The result of this sermon in hell was the redemption of the just of the old law. There was much discussion as to where these just remained until the resurrection of the dead and the general judgment. The dominant popular opinion emerged that they were in a celestial paradise, enjoying various degrees of blessedness, according to their merits.

Once this stage was reached, it was by no means a problem to admit the Apostles and disciples to this group. That the Virgin Mary enjoyed a special place in the hierarchy

of saints is quite evident from the stories of the Assumption found in the numerous versions of the Transitus Mariae. The special honour reserved for virgins occurs in the Apoc. (xiv, 4,5): Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati; Virgines enim sunt. Hi sequuntur Agnum, quocumque ierit . . . ; et in ore eorum non est inventum mendacium, sine macula enim sunt ante thronum dei.

The 'noidin ocus maccaim' are very probably the Holy Innocents. In the VMA, Mary sees these young martyrs: Et deinde deduxit me e regione huius fluminis et adduxit me ad flumen lactis ubi erant centum et quadraginta quattuor milia puerorum civitatis Bethlehem ab Herode occisorum, qui nec carnem suam nec vestimenta sua inquinaverunt in immunditia huius saeculi praetereuntis (p.53).

Lines 6-7: ceol enlathe muintire nime. This phrase can have three possible interpretations: 1. bird-music of the heavenly family; 2. the bird-choir of the heavenly family; 3. the music of the bird-flocks of the heavenly family. It is impossible to decide the exact meaning. The singing of birds is a popular theme in Irish literature. Moreover, the representation of souls as birds is a common motif. The traditional representation of the angels as winged could easily lead to representing them as birds. The presence

of the birds here is probably derived from stories of the earthly paradise: In the apocalypse of Baruch (4 Baruch) in the description of the fourth heaven, there is a remarkable passage about the birds of the heavenly paradise. The passage deserves to be quoted in full as a contrast to the celestial paradise of FA. Moreover, it contains traits of fancy that remind one of the Immrama-literature: (ed. James, T. & S. V, Anecdota Apocrypha II, p.91):

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου, λαβὼν ἤγαγεν με εἰς τέταρτον οὐρανόν· καὶ εἶδον πεδῖον ἀπλοῦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ λίμνην ὑδάτων· καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ πλήθη ὀρνέων ἐκ πασῶν γενεῶν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοια τῶν ἐνταῦθα· ἀλλ' ἴδον τὸν χέρανον ὡς βόας μεγάλους· τί ἐστὶ τὸ πεδῖον καὶ τίς ἡ λίμνη, καὶ τί τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πλήθος τῶν ὀρνέων; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀκουσον Βαρούχ· τὸ μὲν πεδῖον ἐστὶν τὸ περιέχον τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἄλλα θαυμαστὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗπερ ἔρχονται αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅταν ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροὶ· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ὅπερ τὰ νέφη λαμβάνοντα βρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αὐξάνουσιν οἱ καρποί· καὶ εἶπον πάλιν τὸν ἄγγελον κυρίου· τὰ δὲ ὀρνεα τί; καὶ εἶπεν μοι· Αὐτά εἰσιν αἱ διαπαντὸς ἀνυμνοῦσι τὸν κύριον.

M. R. James assigns
this work to the second century (A.D.).

Lines 7-10. The service of the guardian angels still continues, but the nature of this service is not described. Apparently, it will not cease until the state of final happiness is reached. See the remarks on the angelology of the text in the Introduction (p. 53-54).

There is a passage in Severus of Antioch preserved in Nicetas' Catena which expressly states that the guardian angels remain with the soul until the Judgment.

Commenting on Deut. xxxiv. 6, the text reads: Ἐνταῦθα διὰ σωματικοῦ τύπου προὔδειξεν ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενόν τι μυστήριον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς χωριζομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν ἐνθενδε ἀπαλλαγὴν προὔπαντῶσιν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀγαθαὶ καὶ δαιμόνων στίφος πονηρότατον, ὅπως πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῶν ἔργων ᾧν ἐπραξεν πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς προσφόρους τόπους ἢ οὗτοι ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ταύτην ἀποκομίσωσιν φυλαχθησομένην μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν εἰς κρίσιν πάντες παραστησόμεθα, καὶ ἢ εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀπέραντον φλόγα ἀπαχθησόμεθα (quoted from M.R.James, The Testament of Abraham, TS II.2, 1893, Introduction, p. 17).

Note the relationship of ideas in the ἀγγελοι ἀποκομίζοντες implied in this passage and "aengel a comaitechta". Not until the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων

will the souls, even of the just, be able to dispense with protection.

Lines 12-18: The state described is a temporary one. The veil will not be removed until the Day of Judgment. It is interesting to note that, even though the author puts the blessed in great proximity to divinity, he does not consider direct contemplation yet possible. Similarly, the arrangement according to merit has not yet taken place. An attempt has been made in the Introduction (p.20-29) to throw some light on the ideas involved in retaining the veil. In many apocryphal pieces the Just are situated so that they can see the rewards that will be theirs. So in TMS: "And Mary said, 'What are these?' The Christ said to her: 'These are the tabernacles of the just, for the time has not yet arrived when they shall receive their recompenses; but they see them from afar and rejoice; until the day of the resurrection shall come when they shall receive the reward of their struggles.' (Transl. A. S. Lewis, p.66). According to FA, this final reward is the direct contemplation of God.

7.

Cid mór immórro agus cid adbul in taitnem
 agus in t-soilse fil i tír na náem, amal ro rád-
 sem, is aidbliu fo míle ind etrochta fil i inmaig
 muintire nime in rígsuide in Comded fessin. Is
 amlaid iarom atá in rígsudí sin inna chathair chum- 5
 tachta oo cethrí colomnaib dí líio lógmair foi.
 Cén oo beth dano d'airfiteod do neoch acht cooe-
 tul comhubaid na cethrí coloman sin, ropad lor
 do glóir agus d'aibnius dó. Trí éoin airegda
 imórro isin chathair i fíadnaise ind ríge agus a 10
 menma ina ndúlemain tria bithu, iss é sin a ndán.
 Celebrait dano na ocht trath oo molud agus oo
 adamrugud in Coimded oo claischétol aircaingel
 oo tíachtain foi. Ona henaib iarom agus o na
 harcainglib tinseetal in cheóil agus nos freerat 15
 iar sin muintir nime ule eter nóemu agus nóemoga.

Moreover, though the brightness and the
 light in the Land of the Saints may be great and
 vast, a thousand times more vast is the splendour
 which is in the plain of the heavenly family about
 the throne of the Lord Himself. This throne is an
 ornate chair with four columns of precious stone
 under it. Were there no entertainment for anyone

except the harmonious concinnity of these four columns, it would be enough glory and beauty for him.

Moreover, three birds rest on the throne in the presence of the king, and their minds are on their creator throughout eternity: that is their task. They celebrate the eight hours praising and magnifying the Lord, with the chanting of archangels accompanying them in response thereto. The singing is begun by the birds and the archangels, and then the entire heavenly family, both saints and virgins, answer them.

Lines 1-4. Note that a clear distinction is made between 'tir na naem' and mag muintire nime. Up to this point of the text, muintire nime seems to mean the heavenly hosts, who are in a special zone, closer to the throne than the saints. There is a great increase of brightness and splendour in this zone. The dominant qualities of the heavenly region in FA are light, brightness, splendour - ever increasing until its source, Divinity itself, described as a great glowing mass, is reached. On the significance of the light images see Introd. (p. 54-56).

Similarly, in SBH, there is great brightness in the seventh heaven. (See passage cited from B.'s translation, sect. 5, comm. to line 5). From the following description of the throne, it would seem as though Adamnan had penetrated the veil.

Lines 4-6. The throne. The author may have based his description of the throne on passages like the following:

- A. Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium suum, et omnem exercitum caeli assistantem ei a dextris et a sinistris. (3 Reg. 22.19)
- B. . . . vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum et elevatum; . . . seraphim stabant super illud; sex alae uni, et sex alae alteri; duabus velabant faciem ejus, et duabus velabant pedes ejus; et duabus volabant. Et clamabant alter ad alterum, et dicebant: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus exercituum, plena est omnis terra gloria ejus. (Is. 6, 1-3; cf. Apoc. 4, 8).
- C. Et super firmamentum, quod erat imminens capiti eorum, quasi aspectus lapidis sapphiri similitudo throni, et super similitudinem throni, similitudo quasi ad aspectus hominis desuper. Et vidi quasi speciem electri, velut aspectum ignis, intrinsecus ejus per circuitum; a lumbis ejus et desuper, et a lumbis ejus usque deorsum, vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu velut aspectum arcus, cum fuerit in nube in die pluviae; hic erat aspectus splendoris per gyrum (Ez. 1, 26-28).
- D. Et statim fui in spiritu; et ecce sedes posita erat in coelo, et supra sedem sedens. Et qui sedebat, similis erat aspectui lapidis jaspidis et sardinis; et iris erat in circuitu sedis, similis visioni smaragdinae. (Apoc. 4, 2-3).

Material such as this would have given the author the elements of his description - the elevated throne, the light and fire images, the precious stones. The first chapter of Ezekiel alone would have provided the ideas. However, speculation on the הַכְרֵזָה forms a large portion of Jewish mystical literature, and sections 7 to 12 may very well have been modelled on such material. That such material was known in Western Europe is clear, e.g. from an epistle of Agobard of Lyons (c.829) who apparently knew the מִשְׁכַּן דָּוִד or some similar work. For this reference and others concerning the knowledge of Jewish mystical writings in the ninth century in Western Europe, see the discussion by H. Grätz in Frankel's Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, viii (1859) 67-78, 103-118, 140-153. Grätz' work has to be used with extreme caution because of his theory that these mystical writings belong to a late period (Gaonic era), so far as their origin is concerned. There are some striking resemblances between the general pattern of FA and the Merkaba-literature.

Lines 6-8. On the music of the four columns see Introd. p. 50.

Lines 9-11: Tri eoin aregda. This is a difficult motif

to trace. The image, however, is clearly derived from the customs of the chanted recital of the canonical office. The three birds are the chanters, or intoners of the psalms, which are continued, antiphonically, by the other two groups mentioned. It should be noted that there is no instrumental music anywhere in the vision. This is quite in keeping with the nature of the ecclesiastical chant - which even today remains the only approved method of liturgical singing in the church. The presence of birds on the throne may have been suggested by a passage like b. above, their number being determined by the concept of the triune God. As in so many other instances in the vision, so here also, the author gives the merest hint of his idea without detailed description. Had he only added a brief remark, saying, e.g., that these birds had six wings each, then we would have some clue for solving the problem of origin. As it is we can only resort to conjecture.

Among the possibilities, I think that derivation from native Irish myth is the least plausible. The author is making such an effort to avoid anthropomorphic images, is so intent upon giving a description of God that defies all human representation that it would be almost contradictory to suppose that he would borrow images from the pagan literature. His heavenly city is indeed very far removed

from Magh Mell, or indeed from any such Land of Cockayne. Furthermore, the Irish material dealing with the earthly paradise has not yet been fully studied, and until its sources have been more accurately disclosed, it is better not to use analogies which at the best are strained.

Among other possible sources I should like to suggest the following.

a. The birds represent the Angels of the Presence

($\text{לְאַרְבַּע מַּלְאָכִים}$ Is. 63.9), the number reduced from four to three because of the trinity. Cf. 1 Enoch:

"And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: And I heard the voice of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory". (Charles, l.c., p. 77).

b. They are the Cherubim that appear in Ezechiel (1,4-28; 3, 13, 23; 9,3; 10, 1-22; 11,22) as supporters of the throne of Jahwe. Cf. 2 Sam. 22,11; Ps. 17,11 and also 1 Sam. 4,4; 2 Sam. 6,2; 2 Reg. 19,15; 1 Par. 13,6; Ps. 79,2; 98,1.

c. They were suggested by the Cherubim of the Ark (Ex. 25, 18-20, 22; 37, 7-9; Num. 7, 8-9; 1 Par. 28,18; 2 Par. 3, 10-13; 5,7; 1 Reg. 6,23; 8,6,7. With these may be

compared the Cherubim associated with the Tabernacle (Ex. 26,1,31; 36.8.35), and the Temple of Salomon (1 Reg. 6, 29-36; 2 Par. 3,7,14) and Ez. 41, 18-25. Cf. Jacob, Genesis, p. 129: "Allen Stellen in den Cherubim vorkommen gemeinsam ist die unmittelbarste Nahe zur Gottheit und ihrem Allerheiligsten, die sie tragen und umschliessen, schützen und von denen sie abhalten".

d. One might be tempted to think that the birds are *φοίνικες* if one were to believe that the description in sections 8,9,10 is derived from a representation of the sun (e.g. a kind of UR-SONNE). This "sun of heaven" which would serve nicely to represent the deanthropomorphised deity would then attract the birds of the sun (and possibly the horses of the sun: cf. section 8 for the six thousand warriors in the forms of horses and birds). More on this below in Section 10.

e. A good analogy for the bird-idea occurs in 3 Henoch where in Chapter II mention is made of *נְשִׁירֵי הַמֶּרְכָּבָה* (eagles of the Merkaba) who seem to be the Chayyoth who chant the Quedushsha, ib. I.11. There appears to have been a whole class of eagle-angels in later speculation (based on Ez. 1.10) cf. Zohar III. 170.6. The trinity would account for the number three. However, as in so many other instances of angelology, exactness is hardly

possible. According to Sifra on Lev. 1.1 even the Chayyoth do not see the throne. (!)

8. Stúag dermár dano os chind ind ordnide
 ina chathair rigdaí amal cathbarr cumtacha nó
 mind rí. Día nos faictís roisc dóenna no leg-
 faitis fo chétóir. Tri cressa in a mórtimchell
 etarro ocus in slúag ocus ní fes la túaraisobáil 5
 cid atascomnaic. Sé míle do míledaib co ndelbaib
 ech ocus én imon cathair tentide for lassad cen
 crích cen forcend.

Over the head of the Dignified One in His
 royal chair there is a great arch like an ornate
 helmet or a kingly diadem. If human eyes were to
 look at it they would melt immediately. Three
 circles are about it, between it and the host,
 and what they are is unknown by description.
 six thousand soldiers in the forms of horses and birds
 are about the fiery chair which burns ceaselessly
 and endlessly.

 Lines 1-3: stuag dermar. Boswell (IPD, p. 188) suggests
 that these words may refer "to the picturesque and chiv-
 alrous custom of the Irish ardri to wear his helmet on
 state occasions, reserving his crown for the day of battle".

This may be possible, but staying within the genre in which the author is writing, it seems rather improbable. A plausible clue is contained in 3EN. There the Divine Presence (שֶׁכֶתֶר נֹרָה) is described as consisting of two parts: a crown (kether), and a heart (leb). The kether represents the highest part of the divine manifestation, and is engraved with the divine names - which represent the first essences of all creation. In chapter xxix it is described as fearful (כֶּתֶר נֹרָה); the reason is an impressive one: "And from each one of them (the nizw) there go forth sparks and lightnings. And each one of them is beset with horns of splendour round about. From each one lights are shining forth, and each one is surrounded by tents of brilliance, so that not even the Seraphim and the Chay-yoth who are greater than all the children of heaven are able to behold them." (Odeberg, p. 103). Cf. "Dia nos faictis roisc doenna, no legfaitis fo chetoir." It is worth noting that legaim, "melt" is used here. The crown was doubtlessly a fiery one, like the kether nora of 3EN. Note that according to the same passage the "Crown Fearful" is on "the head of the high and exalted King."

Lines 4-6. tri cressa. WS (l.c. 186,n.1) quotes Dante, Par. xxxiii.115:

Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
 Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
 Di tre colori e d'una continenza.

The three circles probably symbolise the Trinity, and the Dante passage is the best analogy in western European literature. I have been unable to find an exact parallel to this passage. The word "oriss" means cingulum, girdle, zone. This makes exact interpretation rather difficult. The author states the impossibility of understanding these "circles" or "zones": *ocus ni fes la tuaraisobail oid atascomnaic* (lines 5-6). This suggests that the "circles" represent a mystery, and the mystery one naturally thinks of is the Trinity. However, similar symbolism is found in Arabic mystical writers, e.g. Abenarabi, in the third book of the Fotuhāt, where circles are used to represent various aspects of the divine epiphanies. Abenarabi even approaches the idea of a Trinity in some of his speculations. However, this material is late, and since the investigation of the earlier sources would take us back to the inception of the influence of Plotinian metaphysics upon Arabic thought, it lies beyond the range of this commentary. This is one of the many statements in the text which we wish were more explicit, because it implies that the author had access to rather highly refined symbolic literature.

There is, however, another approach to the three circles or zones which may be suggested. The person on the throne is described as a "powerful lord" in section 9. Previously, in sect. 5B, he is called a "marvellous prince". It is possible, then, that the three circles represent three aspects of the glory which belongs to the king of heaven. Since, in sect. 9, this King is described as a fire, it is reasonable to suppose that the three circles are fiery, or manifestations of the regal $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ by light-phenomena. In other words, the three circles are epiphanies of the דִּבְרֵי , or perhaps may be called the triple דִּבְרֵי of the King. There is a remote, but pertinent analog which may throw some light on this. In Persian religious literature, the King of Paradise is Yima. His abode is on the mountain of Paradise (Hukairya). In Dinkard, VII, 1, 24 (SBE, Vol. XLVII, p. 9) this paradise is said to be "like the supreme heaven" in pleasantness. However, Yima "began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth" and lost his glory. The glory (= Persian Hvaranah, lit. "brightness") flew away from him three times in the form of a bird. Darmesteter, in a note to the passage (Zend-Avesta, II, p. 294), explains that the brilliance is three-fold because it refers to the king as priest, warrior and

friend. It is possible that some similar idea, viz. a king crowned with triple glory, may be behind the three circles of the heavenly King in FA. The representation of the Deity in FA may go back to the representation of the Yima as king of paradise. This analog may also throw some light on the "three birds" of section 7. Though the analog is remote, there are certain other parallels to the Persian tradition in FA, and such a comparison is thereby justified. See also Introduction, p. 50.

The conjugated preposition "etarro" (line 5) presents some difficulty, for if we read "between them and the host" (as WS translated) we would have to suppose that something had fallen out of the text. The meaning is probably "between it (i.e. the arch) and the host". This is the idiomatic use of the conjugated preposition, and is especially common with etarru, the suffixed pronoun being used in an "inclusive" sense. One could as well translate "between Him and the host", but since the section is describing the stuag (f.), I have used "it" in the translation.

Line 6. se mile do miledaib. Both WS and Boswell translate "six thousand thousands", and this is an attractive translation, justifiable by the spread of dental stems in plural formation in Middle Irish. However, the word also means

"soldiers" (from milid, m), and I prefer to translate it thus. There is nothing surprising in finding "soldiers" in a context where "King" and "host" are mentioned. For warriors in heaven cf. SBH (shorter redaction) xvii:

"inmitten aber des Himmels sah ich gewaffnete Heerscharen, welche dem Herrn dienten" (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 71).

The soldiers in the "forms of horses and birds" result from an attempt to visualise the supporters of the divine throne or chariot. Pegasus-like creatures may be meant. The possibilities of significance in the symbolism are so numerous that it would be futile to attempt exact definition. Horses appear frequently in mythology associated with the sun - and Divinity is represented as an UR-SONNE in these passages. It may be recalled that in the Veda (esp. x, 114, 10), the horses of the sun are kept in the heavenly paradise (cf. Mahabharata II, 311 ff). There is an interesting trace of the Horse-Sun relationship in 4 Reg. xxiii.11: abstulit quoque equos quos dederant reges Juda Soli, in introitu templi Domini juxta exedram Nathanmelech

Angels in the form of birds provide no problem. The usual representation of the Cherubim would suggest such an image. Cf. the "eagles of the merkaba" mentioned in the comm. to sect. 7, lines 9-10.

"Six thousand" are mentioned. In an heptouranic system one would expect 7, and that is the reading of P (ed. Vendryes, p. 360).

Lines 7-8: imon cathair tentide for lassad cen orich cen forcend. Cf. the vision in Dan. vii. 9: *Aspiciebam, donec throni positi sunt, et Antiquus Dierum sedit; . . . ; thronus ejus flammæ ignis; rotæ ejus ignis accensus.*

Also the fiery throne in Test. of Abraham (Recension A):

καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἴστατο θρόνος φοβερός ἐν εἰδει κρυστάλλου φοβεροῦ ἐξαστράπτων ὥς πῦρ (ed. James, TS. II, 2, p. 90).

9.

Aisneis iarom in Comded cumachtaig fil
 isind rígsuidi sin ní thic do neoch acht mád
 doneth féin, nó maní ebrad fri grádaib nime.
 Ar ní innisfea nech a bruth ocus a bríg, a
 derge ocus a rofoillsi, a anius ocus a aibnius, 5
 a chunlacht ocus a chobsaidecht, imad a aingel
 ocus a árchangel oc cantain chiúil dó. A
 thechtairí roimdaí chuci ocus úad co n-athascaib
 rochumrib do cach budin ar úair. A mine ocus
 a rochendsa fri arailib, a ainmíne ocus a roa- 10
 cairbe fri lucht aile díb.

It does not come within the power of any-
 one to describe the mighty Lord who is in that
 royal seat - unless He Himself should do it, or
 unless it were spoken by the orders of heaven.
 For no one would tell His glowing heat and His
 power, His ruddiness and His exceeding brilliance,
 His brightness and His beauty, His wisdom and His
 stability, the number of His angels and archangels
 who sing music unto Him. Punctually, His numerous
 messengers go to Him and from Him from every group,
 bearing very short messages, announcing His
 sweetness and great mildness to some, His rigour

and His great bitterness to others.

Lines 1-3. The שְׁכִינָה is beyond the power of man to describe. Cf. 2 En. xii 1-3 (Sok. variant): "I also saw the Lord face to face. And His face was very glorious, marvellous and terrible, threatening, and strange. Who am I to tell of the incomprehensible existence of the Lord, and His face wonderful, and not to be spoken of: and the choir with much instruction, and loud sound, and the throne of the Lord very great, and not made with hands: and the choir standing around Him of the hosts of cherubim and seraphim!" (ed. Charles, op. cit. p. 27).

Lines 4-6. Of the eight attributes here ascribed to the Divine Presence five relate to light-images: glowing heat, ruddiness, brilliance, brightness, beauty. The author seems to be using all the resources of his vocabulary to convey the impression that the שְׁכִינָה is the source of light; a lumen gloriae. The other attributes, power, wisdom, and stability belong to the Presence under the aspect of Comdū cumachtaoh, "a powerful Lord".

Lines 6-7: imad a aingel ocus a archaangel oc cantain

chiuil do. The celestial choir, as mentioned before, is a common idea in such apocalyptic writing. The number of the choir-angels became a frequent subject of speculation in later Jewish mystical writing. As early as 3 En., however, there are estimates of the number of angels singing the trisagion (Qedushsha): "506 thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One . . . in the height of Araboth Raqia. And each camp is composed of 496 thousand angels." Note that the author of FA as elsewhere, refers only to "angels and archangels". Though he mentions "noi grad nime", he does not use the other names for the various choirs. The functions assigned to various groups does, however, reflect some knowledge of the diverse functions of the angelic hosts.

Lines 7-11: A thechtairi roimdai, etc. The angels are here presented in their original function as divine messengers (Heb. שְׁלֵחַן , וְשִׁלַּח , to send, send a messenger; ἄγγελος). The instances of such divine messengers in O.T. and N.T. are very many and too well known to require comment. The picture given in FA reminds one of a powerful king, whose supreme power in various parts of the realm is represented by satraps appointed by him, and whose commands to them are conveyed by numerous ἄγγελοι . In rabbinical literature

the $\text{מַלְאָכֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$ has a full set of subordinate officials (angels) charged with the care of the celestial bodies and the kingdoms of earth, based on passages like Dan.x,20,21; Sir,xvii.17, 1 En. lxxxix.59 ff). Gradually, the concept of a daily court held at a fixed time in the great judgment hall of the seventh heaven was elaborated - cf. 3 Hen., xxx, 1,2; xiviii,9. In the $\text{מִשְׁכַּן הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$ at the appointed time, the $\text{מַלְאָכֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$ of the various sections of the world pleaded for and defended their charges: judgment is pronounced and executed. In FA the angels see that such judgments are carried out. The epithet "rochumrib" is probably intended to stress the effectiveness of the divine commands (althese, "counsel," "admonition") - they are terse and exacting - like the "fiat lux".

10.

Día mbé neoh ocoá sirfegad imme anair
 ocus aníar, anes ocus atúaid, fogéba do ceoh leith
 aci agid n'airegda soillsithir fó secht andá
 grían. Ní aicfeá dano delb ndune fair do chind
 nó coiss, acht na dlúim thentide for lassad fón 5
 mbith ocus cách for crith ocus for úamain remi.
 Is lomnán día soilse nem ocus talam ocus ruthen
 amal rétlaind ríg ina móorthimcell. Tri míle
 cheól n-écsamail ceoha óenclaisse fil oc classché-
 tol imme. Binnithir ilcheólu in domain each óen- 10
 cheól fo leith díbside fessin.

Should anyone contemplate Him from East
 or West, from North or South, He will find on
 every side a majestic countenance, seven times
 brighter than the sun. He will not see, however,
 a human form possessing a head or feet, but a
 fiery mass, burning eternally, and everyone in
 fear and trembling before Him. Heaven and earth
 are filled with His brilliance, and there is a
 brightness about Him like that of a king's star.
 There are three thousand different songs from
 each choir which is singing about Him. As sweet
 as many songs of the world is each of these songs

in itself separately.

Lines 1-6. With this section the author reaches the climax of his description of the heavenly plain, and of its throne. He has prepared the way by a series of light images, and now the source of all light is reached. The section possesses a particular interest in so far as it is one of the rare instances in early Christian apocalyptic where an attempt is made to describe the Divine Presence.

Jewish mystical writers, however, were much given to speculation on the appearance of the heavenly throne, and, inspired by passages like Ezechiel I, they produced an extensive literature on the subject. Their writings provide a storehouse of imaginative and symbolic representations of the שְׁכִינָה, the mysteries of which were revealed to leading Jewish mystics by Metatron-Enoch or his counterpart. The revelations of such a μυσταγωγός who had penetrated the פְּרָגִי'ד and seen the splendour of the כִּסֵּא הַקְּבוֹד also contained many details about the celestial hierarchy, the camps of the שְׁכִינָה and the chanting of the Qedushsha. A Christian writer, desiring a description of heaven that would be a realm of light, would here find his materials made to order, for the pre-

dominant trait of this mystical literature is the presence of light, splendour, fire, increasing steadily until, the veil having been penetrated, the rhythmical effulgence of the לְשׁוֹן the eternally mysterious source of light is reached.

Therefore, I have not hesitated in using such literature for comparison with related sections of FA. The Enoch-Metatron writings, and the הִיכָלֹת-speculations do provide a key for many of the motifs present in an embryonic stage in FA. The question of borrowing, direct or indirect, cannot be fully explored within the limits of this commentary. To unravel to their origin the many threads of religious thought which have been woven together in this Irish vision would require a special and minute study. However, a general indication of sources is quite possible. What complicates the problem is the variety of materials used to form the vision - materials which, after their assembly, had to be Christianised, even though slightly, and then further adapted to the religious milieu and the theological opinions of the author's age.

We do know that the heptouranic system was known in Ireland, and used in other visions (see Intr. p.42). A refinement of this system was the representation of the seventh heaven as composed of seven concentric halls, the

pattern of the early הִיכָלוֹת - literature. The celestial City of FA is a sevenfold heaven, and some division of the seventh heaven is implied. The region is like a city of the Sun, illuminated by the UR-SONNE, the brilliance of which penetrates the celestial regions. The "countenance of the sun" (sect. 11, (4) is on its base. It seems justified to assume that this Divine Sun, which with its effulgence provides the rainbow-like colouration of the crystal walls and base of this crystal city, is an image produced from speculation on the שֵׁן אֶתְרָא of Ezechiel I, 27. The colours of the קִשְׁטָא have become the colours of the walls - it is all in accordance with the *modus operandi* of the Jewish mystics. A crystal city, enshrining the UR-SONNE in a seven-fold UR-HIMMEL marks a rather advanced stage of הִיכָלוֹת-speculation. FA marks an intermediary stage of development.

In the pseudepigrapha many hints of this refined development are found. Thus, e.g., I Enoch, xiv (ed. Charles, 34): "And lo! there was a second house greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of

fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of the Cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counsellor".

Here the Divinity or Presence (**נְסִיכֵינָה**) is definitely anthropomorphic, but betrays considerable refinement. During the second and third centuries A.D., a strong reaction against any anthropomorphic representation of God is found in Jewish theology. The fire-image then became a favourite symbol of the **כְּבוֹד**. This stage is reflected in a variant of the twenty-second chapter of SBH: "In the tenth heaven, Araboth, I saw the vision of the face of the Lord, like iron burnt in the fire, and brought forth

and emitting sparks, and it burns. So I saw the face of the Lord; but the face of the Lord cannot be told. It is wonderful and awful and very terrible". (Ed. Morfill and Charles, p. 27). This is the image used in FA, but in FA it is further developed: the crown (kether) has been added, and the expression "fiery mass" seems to be a closer approach to an immaterial fire.

The resemblances between the vision of the "dignified One" in FA, and the traditions reflected in 1 Hen., in SBH, and which are developed to their highest extent in the Merkaba descriptions of the מִלְכָּא דְּמֵרְכָבָא -literature, are very striking. It seems plausible to assume that this part of FA was ultimately derived from such material. At least it provides us with a set of comparable motifs, and renders intelligible aspects of FA which otherwise remain quite mysterious.

Lines 7-8: Is lomnan dia soilse nem ocus talam, ocus ruthen amal retlaid rig ina morthimcell. The first part of this sentence could be an adaptation of the trisagion of the Mass: Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua (cf. Missale Romanum, praefatio communis).

The symbolism of the second part of the sentence was probably derived from Num. xxiv. 17: Orietur Stella

ex Jacob. The thought stella regis = Messiah is clearly stated in Test. Levi. 18, 3-4 (Ed. Charles, AP, II, 314):

"And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king,
Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day.
And he shall be magnified in the world.
He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven - - -".

Cf. Test. Jud. 24, 1 (Ed. Charles, AP, II, 323):

"And after these things shall a star arise to you
from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise from my seed like the sun
of righteousness".

These two passages could yield the following symbolism:

Messias = Stella Regis = Sol iustitiae (מִלְכָּא שֶׁלֹּא מַלְכָּא
Mal. 3,20).

In the next section it is mentioned that the "countenance of the sun" is on the base of the heavenly city. This may be "the sun of justice", the "light" of the Messiah.

Cf. "He shall shine forth as a sun on the earth", above.

There may be some attempt here to blend characteristics of the Messiah (glorified) with the Divine Presence:

The Son as the emanation and reflection of the Father.

There is a tendency to identify attributes of the Father with those of Christ even in early Christian literature -

cf. Epist. Clemen. II: οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων
καὶ νεκρῶν.

See Intr. p. 43 ff. for more details on such symbolism.
Cf. Apoc. Joh. xxi, 23: Et civitas non eget sole neque
luna, ut luceant in ea; nam claritas Dei illuminavit
eam, et lucerna ejus est Agnus.

11. In cathir íarom ina fail in rígsudi sin
 is amlaid atá, agus .vii. múir glainide co ndath-
 aib écsanlaib ina thimcell, airdiu each mór araile.
 Lebend immórro agus fond iníochtarach na eathrach
 di glain gil atacomnaic co ngné grene fair iarna 5
 breohtrad di gurm agus chorera agus úanl agus
 caoha datha archena.

Thus then is the city in which that royal
 throne is, and there are seven crystal walls of
 various hues about it, each wall being higher
 than the other. The platform and lowest base
 of the city are made of white crystal with the
 image of the sun thereon, and blue, purple, green,
 and every other colour have been mingled therein.

Lines 1-7. See the commentary on section 10. This descrip-
 tion of the heavenly city should be contrasted rather than
 compared with Apoc. xxi. 19-21.

Beginning with this section the heavenly region is
 spoken of as a "city". This new image continues until 15A.
 Sections 12 and 13 give us some description of the city so
 far as the arrangement of the blessed and the choirs are con-

cerned, but appears to be incomplete. The "city" description is interrupted by 14A, the "exclusi". 15A seems to give a definite termination to what was at one time a long description. Treating sections 11-15A as a unit, the reader will probably feel that 14A is out of place. It may have been drawn into the text at this point from a marginal gloss. For more discussion, vide infra. sect.14.

12. Muintir bláith romín rochennais dano cen
 esbaid nácha mathiusa foraib is iat aittrebait
 in cathraig sin. Ar nís rochet ocus nís aitre-
 bat do grés acht nóemóig nó ailitrig dútraachtacha
 do Dia. A n-eor immorro ocus a córugud is dolig 5
 a fíis cinnas forcéannacair ar ní fil druim neich
 díb nó a slis frí arailli. Acht is amlaid ros
 córaig ocus ros comét cumachta díasnéte in Chomded
 gnúis fri gnúis ina srethaib ocus ina corónib
 eomardaib mórhimeall ind rígsuide imma cuaird 10
 co n-ánus ocus n-aíbinnius ocus a n-aiged ule
 fri Día.

Those who dwell in this city are a gentle
 people, very mild and very meek, lacking no good
 qualities. For only virgins or pilgrims zealous
 for God reach it and dwell in it for ever. More-
 over, it is difficult to understand how their arrange-
 ment and placing is accomplished, for neither the
 back nor the side of any one of them faces the
 other, but the ineffable power of the Lord has
 arranged and disposed them face to face in rows
 and equal crowns round about the royal chair,
 with splendour and beauty, and all have their

faces towards God.

Lines 1-5. To the number of those who reach the celestial city LB and P add penitents (aitrigig). Even so, it is a rather limited range. The fondness for pilgrimage in the Celtic Church needs no comment. Here it cannot be determined whether or not the author meant "pilgrims" literally or figuratively (peregrini in hac terra). The virtues may safely be considered as the prime monastic virtues, yet the statement here is too weak to justify the assumption that FA was intended for monastic circles only.

Lines 5-12. The arrangement of the blessed. Here again the author anticipates the difficulty of visualising his image. The arrangement is a mystery which only the "ineffable power of the Lord" can achieve. One naturally thinks of Dante's celestial rose (Paradiso xxx, 100-132; xxxi, 1-54; 112-117; xxxii, 1-84; 115-138) - an attempt to solve a similar problem. In the VMA is a pleasing image of the celestial city: Et deinde fecit me adscendere in regionem illius fluminis et introduxit me in civitatem Domini, et ostendit mihi civitatem sicut rosa constructam, cuius nec fines usque ad terminos suos revel-

atae sunt, nec fundationes cognoscuntur; eius claritas magis quam sol septuplo resplendescibat, et in ea congregabantur vestimenta aurea et argentea et monilia aurea cum coronis aureis. (transl. Chaine, p. 60).

The text mentions "that neither the back or side of any one of them faced the other". Jewish speculation dealt with this problem so far as it related to the angels: they had eyes all over. Chag. 15a says that "there is no back in heaven". The starting point was probably Ez. x. 12: Et omne corpus earum, et colla et manus, et pennae et circuli plena erant oculis, in circuitu quatuor rotarum. If such a privilege were conferred on the blessed they would then always be in visual contact with each other while having their "faces towards God", and still being "face to face" with each other. This intercommunication of the faithful by sight is an attempt to convey their mutual awareness of being in the same general region, that of beatitude.

Beatitude, however, admits of different gradations: those of greater merit should be closer to the source of the beatific vision. The problem then arises: Will those in an inferior place feel envious of those in a superior place? Theologians answered this in the negative: each soul receives that amount of the divine-effulgence which

corresponds with its capacity. It is therefore completely happy. The author of this section of FA was aware of the problem and made a remarkable attempt to symbolise it: His "equal rows and crowns", plus the rose-image, as found, e.g. in VMA yields the same pattern as Dante's wonderful structure. In European literature the image is unique before the time of Dante. Of extra-European literature the closest resemblance to such speculation is found in rather late Arabic material, as e.g. in the Fotuhāt (Bk. III) of Abenarabi, where the positioning in concentric circles, one rising above the other to resemble a vast amphitheatre is described in minutest detail.

13.

Crand caingil di glain eter cach dá clais

co cuntuch derscaigtech dergóir agus argit fair.

Co srethaib sainemla di lile lógmair agus co

mbrechtrad gem n-écsamail agus co cathairib agus

chorónib carrmocaill forna crunnu caingil sin, 5

tri leca lógmara dano co fogur bláith agus co

mbinne cheóil eter cach dá primairecht agus a

llethe úachtaracha ina lóharnaib for lassad.

Vii. míle aingel i ndelbaib primoainnel co soil-

sigud agus co inorchugud inna catrach ma cúaird. 10

Vii. míle aile ina certmedón co lassad tríá bithu

sír imón cathraig rígdai. Fir domain i n-óenbale

cidat línmair nos fórfed do biud boltnogud cind

éenchainle dina cainlib sin.

A crystal chancel-screen is between every two choirs, with superior ornamentation of red gold and silver upon it, with excellent rows of precious stones mingled with extraordinary gems and with thrones and crowns of carbuncle against that chancel screen. Moreover, three precious stones possessing a gentle sound and sweet music, are between every two principal groups, their upper portion being burning lamps. Seven thousand angels

in the form of great candles brighten and illuminate the city round about; seven thousand others in the very centre are burning through long ages around the royal city. The perfume from the top of a single one of those candles would satisfy as food does the human beings of this world gathered into one place, no matter how numerous they may be.

Lines 1-5. Another difficult picture to reconstruct!

The heavenly choirs are placed in a number of choir-stalls about the throne. The choirs are separated by chancel-screens which are highly ornamented. The scene is like that of a Cathedral, or rather monastery chapel where the choir stalls are on either side of the altar, the altar and choir being separated from the congregation by the chancel screen. Along these chancel screens in FA are thrones and crowns of carbuncle. Note that their occupants are not mentioned. Thrones and crowns occur very frequently in the heavens of the apocalypses: cf. Apoc. Joh. IV. 4. Precious stones in the new Jerusalem are also a common motif. Why "carbuncle" alone should be mentioned by name is rather puzzling, but technical names

for precious stones are not common in early Irish literature. The substances mentioned above remind one of descriptions of royal houses in the epics. For example, in Fled Bricrend, we read: "Noi n-imdada and o thenid co fraigid, tricha traiged i n-airdi cacha hairinig credumae co n-diorad oir friu uile. Conrotacht rigimdae and iarom do Chonchobur i n-airinuch ind righthige sin uas imdadaib in tige uile co n-gemaib carrmocail ocus logmaraib ar chena, ocus ligrad oir ocus airgit ocus charrmocail ocus datha each thire, co m-bo chomsolus la ocus adaig inti". (ed. Windisch, IT I, 254). Such descriptions very probably had an influence upon the author, and may have led to adaptations of his source material.

It is not stated for whom these thrones and crowns are intended. In apocalyptic they are sometimes destined for the just, sometimes for the angel princes. Cf. 4 Esdras 11, 45: Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt, et immortalem sumserunt, et confessi sunt nomen Dei; modo coronantur, et accipiunt palmas. 1 En. 108. 12: "And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will sit each on the throne of his honour." Matt. xix. 28: Amen dico vobis, quod vos, qui secuti estis Me, in regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae, sedebitis et

vos super sedes duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel; Apoc. Joh. 111.21: Qui vicerit, dabo ei sedere Meum in throno Meo. Jas. I.12: Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quoniam, cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se.

Crowns for angels occur frequently in the Hekaloth-literature. In 3 EN. there are many impressive descriptions of crowns. The following may serve as examples.

a. The crowns of the Ophannim (xxv.7):
 "And four carbuncle stones are fixed on the crown of every single one, the splendour of which proceeds in four directions of Araboth even as the splendour of the globe of the sun proceeds in all the directions of the universe. And why is it called Carbuncle (Bareqet)? Because its splendour is like the appearance of a lightning (Baraq)".

b. The Crown of Metatron: "And he made me a royal crown in which were fixed forty-nine costly stones, like unto the light of the globe of the sun. For its splendour went forth in the four quarters of the Araboth Raqia and in the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world". (xi.3).

Lines 6-8. The three precious stones. The number is probably another bit of trinity-symbolism: cf. the three birds, sect. 7 line 8; and the three circles, sect. 8, lines 3-4. For the music produced by these stones see Introd. p. 50. Flaming jewels are a development of the popular fancy that a certain "fire" is to be found in them. In FA they can have little more than symbolic value: - triple reflectors for the (triune) divine fire on the throne.

Lines 9-10. The flaming angels. This is a common phenomenon in Jewish apocalyptic, especially in the מִי־כָלֹחַ literature. The angelic substance is fire, the angels are renewed in a river of fire (נְהַר־עֵשֶׂת־נְהַר־עֵשֶׂת). In 3 En. there are many references to the fiery nature of the angels. The following examples will illustrate this:

a. "in that hour the eagles of the Merkaba, the flaming Ophannim and the Seraphim of consuming fire asked Metatron" (II.1).

b. Speaking of the angels about the Shekinah:
 "..... the fiery Shin'anim, the flaming Kerubim, and the burning Ophannim, the flaming servants, the flashing Chashmallim and the lightning Seraphim". (vii).

c. Description of Kerubiel, prince of the Cherubim:

"The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire. His tongue is a consuming fire. His eyebrows are like unto the splendour of the lightning. His eyes are like sparks of brilliance. His countenance is like a burning fire". (xxii.4).

Line 12: Imon cathraig rigdai. Since these angels are described as being "in the very centre", the phrase imon cathraig rigdai should probably be changed to read "about the royal throne", as in CCC, rather than "about the royal city". LB reads "rigohathair", CCC has in righ suidhi, P has here the reading of IU: "imon-cathraig righda". Cf. the note on mile, supra, Sect. 8. line 5.

The imagery of lines 7-12 could have been suggested by the liturgical use of candles (especially scented candles). As candles illuminate the sanctuary, so do angels illuminate the heavens. But see Intro. p. 47.

Lines 10-12. This is the only reference to something resembling food in the vision. It apparently has no reference here to the nourishment of the blessed. For the fragrance of Paradise see above sect. 5, line 6. The candles as the source of the perfume seems to be an original idea of the author.

14 A. Do neoch trá do dáinib in domain nád roch-
 et in cathraig sin asa mbíu ocus dianid érdalta
 a haittreb iar fúgiull brátha is intib airbirit
 co anbsaid ocus co utmall i ndindgnaib ocus i
 onocaib, i sesenib ocus i rrotaigib a n-aitreba 5
 co tí chuou bráth.

(lacuna)

Is amlaid dano atát na slóig sin ocus na
 hairechta ocus aingel comimtechta cachá hóenan-
 ma fil indib co umallóit ocus timthirecht di.

B. Fíal tened ocus fíal d'aigriud i prim- 10
 dorus inna cathrach inna fíadnaisse, ocus síat
 ic comthúarcain cind ar cind tria bithu. Fogur
 ocus fúamand dano na fíal sin co comríachtain
 atoluintir fón mbith. Sí n-Adaim, dia cluintis
 in fogur sin, nos gébad ule crith ocus úamun doí- 15
 ulachta remi. It torsig thrá ocus it búadertha
 na peodaig ocond fogur sin. Mád i lleth immórro
 fri muintir nímí ní cluintir dín gárbthóraind
 sin acht lánbec do ráith, ocus binnithir cach
 ceól atacomnaic. 20

A. Those of the men of the world who do not reach this city after their life, and unto whom is assigned a dwelling in it after sentence of judgment have a restless and changeful dwelling on heights and hills, in swamps and rivers until judgment comes for them.

(lacuna)

Thus, then, are situated those bands and those groups, and the guardian angel of each soul which is among them is engaged in ministering to it and serving it.

Before them, in the principal entrance to the city, there is a veil of fire and a veil of ice, and they clash together throughout the ages. Moreover, the sound and echoing noises of these veils as they clash together is heard throughout the world. Fear and trembling insupportable would seize the seed of Adam, if they were to hear this noise. However, on the side of the heavenly family, only a very small amount of this rough thunder is heard, and it is as sweet as any music.

.....

Lines 1-6. The text from 11 to 15A is in a very confused condition. Beginning with 11, the kingdom of heaven is described as a "city", and the beginning of a description of this city is found in 12 and 13. Then the text is interrupted by the description of those excluded from the "city". 15A speaks of a "plan" of this city, and seems to imply that a fairly extensive description has gone before. Apparently the description of the city was, in part at least, replaced by the description of those excluded from the city. Logically, this group should not have been mentioned until after 15A, where we might reasonably suppose that outside of the city the seer comes upon a particular group consisting of those who are not admitted.

Moreover, sect. 14A is obviously incomplete, for its second part speaks of "bands and groups", which implies a mention of the subdivisions of souls to be found among those excluded. This lacuna is a regrettable one, for, not knowing the types of those excluded, we can only resort to conjecture as to the nature of these groups. The passage apparently puzzled the compiler of CCO, for he omits (or possibly did not have in his source) the first sentence of 14A. The other texts, which retain the passage, give no further clue as to its original position.

Seymour (IVO, 109) interprets this passage to refer to

100.

purgatory: "And it must be remembered that the state of the wandering souls in Adarnan (who = mali non valde) was very far indeed from partaking of the nature of Hell, provisional or otherwise; in reality it affords the first instance in Irish literature of a definitely purgatorial sphere, in which souls must remain till Doom, after which they would be allotted a place in heaven". The parenthesis is Seymour's. His classification of these souls as "mali non valde" finds no justification in the text. We are not told what types make up these groups. Moreover, the assumption that they are in a kind of purgatory is also unfounded: the first requisite for purgatory, the "ignis purgatorius" is missing. The author of FA follows a theory that temporal punishment takes place in the ascent of the seven heavens, (15 B-20), and also in the hell sections. Another "purgatory" was not required.

Boswell (IPD, 191) expresses the following opinion: "It would rather seem that they are the mixed characters upon whom, at the individual judgment immediately following death, no final sentence has been passed. The reservation of a temporary abode for suchlike occurs in the Avestan books, in certain Hebrew speculations, - as shown by the reference, in the Book of Enoch, to the mountain of Sheol

in the West. and by the writings of several Rabbis - and in early Christian tradition". Now the text of FA as we have it mentions no type of judgment as having been passed on these souls: their temporary fate consists in their exclusion from the city. Judgment in FA takes place in the seventh heaven. What device has been used to categorise them is not mentioned - nor have they passed the bridge, so far as we can conclude from the text.

As for the Avestan texts mentioned, Boswell must refer to Hamestagan, the "ever-stationary". This term represents those whose good works and sin are equal. But their condition is quite different from those in 14A. In the Book of Arda Viraf, they are described as follows: "I came to a place, and I saw the souls of several people, who remain in the same position . . . They call this place Hamestagan (the ever-stationary); and these souls remain in this place till the future body; and they are souls of those men whose good works and sin were equal . . . ; they in whom both are equal, remain among these Hamestagan till the future body. Their punishment is cold, or heat, from the revolution of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity." (BAV, chapt. VI, p. 157). This is quite different from the "restless and changeful existence" of the souls in 14A. Moreover, those in whom good and

evil are equal are found in hell "in the tide of pain", infra sect. 24. The reference to Sheol in 1 Enoch, chapt. xxi contains no classification resembling the souls in 14A; there are four hollow places, one for the righteous and three for various sorts of sinners - they are *κοιλώματα* forming promptuaria until the "great day of judgment and punishment". (See I EN. ed. Charles (1912), pp.46-50, + notes). Unfortunately, as so often in IPD, Boswell gives no references for the "Hebrew speculations", and the "writings of several Rabbis". A "locus intermedius" is nowhere specifically mentioned in FA, and there is no justification for assuming that it is represented in 14A. If the author of FA considered the primdorus of 14B to be the entrance to the seven heavens, then the group in 14A represents those capable of purification (ascent) eventually, but who are now deprived of the privilege of purgation.

So far as a classification of souls according to *ψυχοστασία* is concerned, the text of FA gives us the following classes:

- A. The Blessed, of which there are two divisions:
 - 1. Those in TIR NA NAEB (SANCTI)
 - 2. Those in MAG MUINTIRE NIME (SANTISSIMI)
- B. The IMPERFECT, who are purified by the ascent of the seven heavens.

C. The INTERMEDII - those whose good and bad are equal. They are temporarily in HELL (until the LAST JUDGMENT).

D. The DAMNED, who are in Hell for eternity.

Now of these classes, the souls in 14A are best associated with Group B. We may conclude this from the following arguments: 1. These souls are not wholly evil, if so they would be the DAMNED, and be in HELL; 2. Neither are they INTERMEDII - for then too, according to the system of FA they would be temporarily assigned to Hell; 3. They are most obviously excluded from group A, i.e. they need some purification. Hence they are associated with group B so far as their ultimate fate is concerned. Their exclusion from the purificatory ascent must, therefore, be per accidens, and not due to their present moral state. What souls would fall into such a group?

The answer which most naturally suggests itself is that they are the souls of the $\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\iota$. That such souls must wander about, excluded from Hades is the teaching of Il. 23,71 ff., and Odyss. 11,51 ff. This tradition became very widespread and is found frequently in papyri (see Hopfner, "Gr. - Ag. Offenbarungs - Zauber", 1, 87). More testimony can be found in Rohde, Psyche, 2, 412-413; Cumont, Afterlife, 64-69. Later, to this class were added

the *βιαιοθάνατοι*, and the *ἄωροι*. Servius, commenting on Aen. 4,386, makes the following remark: *dicunt physici biathanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint*. For further subdivisions see Waszink, *Mnemos*, III ser., 13 (1947), 123-24, and id. "Biathanati", *RAO* 1, 1167-70. The privation of burial was the important factor. The belief that suffering for such souls was inevitable is also found among the Jews (see 1 EN. ed. Charles, p. 49, note to xxii, 9.). The *βιοθαυεῖς* were frequently *ἄταφοι*, and if not, they were subject to the curse of ending life before the assigned time. This idea remained for a long time a part of the beliefs associated with departed souls. The souls of the *βιαιοθάνατοι* had to wait until they had completed the requisite period of years before being admitted to the next world. The tradition was modified and adapted in Christian popular eschatology, and the result is found in Dante's use of the tradition. In the Purgatorio, the Mountain of Purgatory has about its base the region known as the Antipurgatorio. It is peopled, among others, by *βιαιοθάνατοι*, who did indeed die repentant, but enjoyed no burial rites. They are condemned to remain there for varying periods (unless aided by the prayers of their friends on earth). See, especially, the section on

Manfredi, Purg. III, 112-145; Buonconte, Purg. IV, 88-129.

That the proper inhumation of the body was still of marked importance in Dante's time is strongly implied in Buonconte's words (l.c. 100-108):

Quivi perdei la vista, e la parola
Nel nome di Maria finii, e quivi
Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola.
Io direi il vero, e tu il ridi tra i vivi;
L'Angel di Dio mi prese, e quel d'inferno
Gridava: O tu del ciel, perche mi privi?
Tu te ne porti di costui l'eterno
Per una lagrimetta che il me toglie;
Ma io faro dell'altro altro governo.

Here the idea has been much refined, and non-burial plays only an accidental role in the theory of justice here implied. Dante's Antipurgatorio is a good starting point for studying the tradition of those souls who cannot "ire ai martiri" (Purg. IV, 128) it presents a large group of souls excluded for a time from the purgatorial ascent to heaven, but not damned.

That a similar tradition was available to the writer of FA is very possible. An approach to such an idea is preserved in the story of Coirpre Crom. Coirpre was miraculously restored to life by Ciaran, and, upon being asked by the latter whether he went to heaven or hell, said: "Niam-ruccach, ol se, ar ni beras anim dochum nimhe co n-adhnaioiter an corp. Ocus ni beras ainim dochum nimhe na iffirn co cend secht trath lois."

(ed. WS, "Three Legends, etc.", RC xxvi (1905), 372).

An interesting passage, showing the survival of this tradition is preserved in a passage from Geiler von Kaisersberg: "Also redt der gemeine Man von dem Wütischen Herr, das die, die vor den Zeiten sterben, ee denn dass inen Got hat uffgesetzt, als die, die in die Reis laufen und erstochen werden, oder gehenkt und ertrenkt werden, die müssen also lang nach irem todt laufen, bis das zil kumt, das inen Got gesetzet hat und dann so würkt Got mit inen, was sein Göttlicher Wil ist". (Quoted by Weniger, "Ferialis Exercitus", ARW (1906), 220).

Other speculations as to who composed this group are possible. The one selected above has been presented somewhat fully because it is found in a highly developed and refined form in the Commedia, that great storehouse of medieval eschatological beliefs. Dante's treatment of this class of souls justifies a new approach to sect. 14A, and partly enables us to preserve some unity in the theory of the text.

Critics of FA who, have decided, a priori, that 14A refers to an intermediate state have then been forced to reject the Hell section as an interpolation, or else suppress the seven-heaven sections. However, the author of FA seems to have a detailed idea of temporal punishment,

and doubtlessly introduced the seven heaven section to serve as a vehicle for temporal punishment for those whose good outweighed their evil, but were not perfect. The text is in such poor condition that one is easily tempted to assume interpolations - if one deals with the text thus it could be made to fit any theory. Seymour, for example, seems determined to make 14A = *malin non valde*, and then readjusts the rest of the text to fit his theory.

Rather than resort to "interpolations", it is far better to accept the obvious quality of the text: it is a pasticcio, a blending and juxtaposition of many motifs. Moreover, it shows signs of having been reduced, indeed rendered almost fragmentary in parts. Had we a complete text, probably no such problems of interpretation would arise. Since our text maintains a fairly uniform language throughout, it is impossible to decide interpolations from a linguistic standpoint. The variants of the other MSS. are of little help. The safest assumption is that the source materials, taken individually, did express a consistent theory of the next life. The redactor (perhaps the Irish scribe who sought to fit this vision into the Adamnan-tradition) has obviously shortened his texts in some places, and added in others and that not too intelligently:

100.

the thread of unity is destroyed. All explanations about the types of souls have been reduced to a minimum, except in the hell section. This is quite possibly due to the fact that the redactor did not fully understand the theory of celestial immortality implied in the material used for the first twenty sections, but was well acquainted with the theories of hell (see Introd. p. 56-57).

Lines 8-9. For the continued ministrations of the angels see the notes on sect. 6, lines 7-10.

Lines 10-20. For these veils, compare the note on Sect. 5, lines 1¹-1⁵. I know of no exact parallel to these veils, but it is quite easy to understand the underlying ideas. At the ends of the earth, or in the lower heavens early cosmological speculation placed the sources (storehouses) of all natural phenomena. These natural phenomena, combined in groups of polar opposites (ice and fire, light and darkness) came to be associated with the terrors of the next life, and are usually found in the vicinity of places of punishment. Thus, in the third heaven Enoch sees a region: "And all that place has fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes". (2 En. ed. Charles, Chapt. x, p. 10). The clashing of these veils

is a primitive explanation of thunder. Those entering the next world find themselves at the very source of thunder. This bit of cosmological lore would seem to indicate that the seven-heaven material available to the author had elements of astro-physical speculation, as in 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch. A good example of the type of mysteries contained in such speculations is in 1 Enoch XI. 3-4 (ed. Charles 80):

And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw cloud-chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

That the noise of these clashing veils should be music to the blessed and a source of terror to the damned is analogous with those sources of torment in the seven-heavens which harm the wicked but are no obstacle to the good. Here the veil is apparently a barrier separating those inside the city from those without. If section 14 possesses any kind of unity, then the "exclusi" must mean those mentioned in 14B. But where is this barrier? It cannot equal the circull tenthide of 5B, because this circle

is about a land (TIR NA NAEB). Nor is it in the door mentioned in 16A, for that is a "Dorus nime". The veils are situated 1 primdorus inna cathrach. Cathir is used in sections 11, 12, 13, 14A, 14B and 15A. Therefore, as the text stands, we must conclude that the seven-walled city is spatially distinct from the seven heavens. However, the seventh heaven, which is implied in sect. 19 ad fin. is in "the presence of God", and, judging from sect. 19, in the presence of the "muintir nime". According to 14B the muintir nime is separated from "sinners" by the veils of fire and ice which are in the chief gate of the "city". These veils are not mentioned in sections 18 and 19 - indeed no seventh gate appears there. This is consistent with sect. 15B which mentions 6 gates, the implication being that the seventh gate = the "primdorus inna cathrach". But then an additional barrier would seem superfluous. However, with the text in such a confused state it would be futile to look for consistency in the multiplication of such hazards. Their general purpose is obvious: they keep out those who have not the requisite qualities for entering the "autre monde". FA abounds in fiery walls, rivers, veils, a whirlpool of fire, and a circle of fire. Despite the confused multiplicity of these obstacles, there is no doubt that the author was clearly convinced that trial

by fire was essential for entering the next life. In view of this, it is difficult to believe he could have constructed a purgatory without fire. Those mentioned in 14A are prevented from such an examination - they are really excluded from the next world until the judgment. The ascent of the soul, according to the order of the text means an ascent of six (purgatorial) heavens, with the goal of the journey the seventh heaven, which is represented as a seven-walled "city" - a replica of the cosmos. This type of sevenfold seventh heaven is common in the *הִיבְּלִיּוֹת* - literature, and were the text not as poorly integrated as it is, it would be quite easy to cite parallels. The images, however, are so inconsistent, that it would be futile to maintain that the source-material for the vision was a direct borrowing from *הִיבְּלִיּוֹת* - speculations. Similar images could be derived from Mithraism, Egyptian Sun Rituals, and even Pythagorean systems.

To make this confusion of images clear to the reader a tabulation may help. In sections 3-20, the "flathame" part of the vision, the following terms occur:

- SECTIONS:
- 3A. Soul taken to the riched (Kingdom of Heaven).
 - 3B. Soul to see flatha nime (Kingdom of Heaven).
 - 4. Soul first enters tir na naeb (Land of the Saints).
 - 5B. This tir na naeb is surrounded by a circull tentide (fiery circle). It has a golden portico in it. (church-imagery).
 - 6. Still tir na naeb - special groups of the Blessed.
 - 7. Now mag muintire nime is added - therein is the throne.
 - 8. Same setting, throne described.
 - 9. " " Enthroned One described.
 - 10. " " " " "
 - 11. Throne is now said to be in a city (cathir).
 - 12. Cathir and arrangement of inhabitants.
 - 13. Cathir plus choir-stalls image.
 - 14. - 15A. Cathir, the "exclusi", the veils "i primdorus".
 - 15B. Throne, 7 heavens, goal of ascent = riched. (= sect. 20, flatha nime).

With the limited material at present available for direct comparison with our text it is impossible to reconstruct the original plan for the heaven-section. All of the images used could have been worked together to give an elaborate and impressive picture; as they appear in the text as it has come down to us they are not assimilated at all, they

are merely juxtaposed. Heaven, the next world, represented as a series of "lands" is common in western visions, but a seven-walled heavenly city is not - neither is the idea of the ascent of the seven heavens found in any other complete western vision. An Irish writer would have been quite at home using the images of sections 3-10. But that he should fail to understand the seven-walled heavenly city and the Himmelsreise through the seven heavens is not at all strange. The combination of Pythagorean, Neo-Platonic and Gnostic elements in the seven-heaven theory of celestial immortality is still a stumbling block to scholars. It is by no means surprising that an author from Western Europe in the tenth century, could do little more with this than turn it into an elaborate purgatory. There are signs throughout the text of an attempt to unify the presentation, but the attempt was largely unsuccessful.

As will be seen from the commentary on the sections from 15C-20, the seven heavens apocryphon was a unit in itself, used in various texts at the discretion of the author. As it is preserved in the fragments we possess, the ascent is constant progression from heaven to heaven, each heaven having its special door, and special attendant. In each heaven there are various torments, mainly fiery ones, which serve (in heavens I and II) to purify the imperfect and torment

the damned. Upon being purified, the souls of the just enjoyed the presence of God in the seventh heaven.

But the author knew another apocryphon in which heaven was described as a seven-walled city. From the little descriptive matter he gives us, this seven-walled city contained no punishments - it is a city of the saints. So, though in origin this city was an ideal representation of the seven heavens - its crystal substance, its varied colours, its sun-images point in this direction - the author used it as a sevenfold seventh heaven. He made an attempt to fuse it with the apocryphon of the souls ascent, but was not too successful - at least so far as our present text shows the blending. But a blending could have been successfully achieved, and if the author had before him a complete text of the Seven-Walled City Apocryphon, we can only feel disappointed that he has failed to give us a complete picture. Even as it stands, this idealised city is an important testimony to the late survival of those speculations on celestial immortality which played so large a role in the teachings of the hellenistic "magi".

15A. Is adbul íarom, agus is ingnadh fíria inni-
sin sudigud inna catrach sin, ar is beo di mór
aní ro innisemár dia hordaib^{écsamlaib} agus dia ingantaib.

B. Is andam trá lasin n-anmain iar comgnáis
agus comattrib na colla cona súan agus cona 5
sádaile, agus cona saíre, cona sóinmige, insai-
gid agus dula co rígsuide in dúleman, acht mani
dig la heolchu aingel, ar is docomail drém na
.vii. nime, ar ní assu nach ai araili dib, ar
itát .vi. dorais chóemtehta ar cind in chin- 10
iuda dóenna co rrice in ríched. Ro sudiged
dano dorsioir agus cométaid o muintir nime do
forcomét each dorais díb.

A. Therefore, vast and wonderful to describe
is the plan of that city. What we have related
of its varied orders and marvels is only a small
portion of much.

B. It is rare for a soul, after commerce and
co-habitation with the flesh, with its sleep and
its sloth and its liberty, and its prosperity,
to strive for and go unto the throne of the cre-
ator, unless it come with experienced angels.
For the ascent of the seven heavens is difficult,

for no one is easier than the other. For there are six protecting gates before the human race until it reaches the kingdom of heaven. Furthermore, a doorkeeper and guardian from the heavenly family has been appointed to protect each of these gates.

For convenience, this section (Windisch's 15) has been divided into three parts, A and B and C, of which A and B are treated here.

Lines 1-3. For 15A, and its position in the text see the notes to sect. 14. Note that no attempt is made to give an intelligent transition to the seven-heaven section. If only a hint as to the relationship between the seven-heavens, and the seven-walled city had been given, it would have made interpretation so much easier.

Lines 4-8. The doctrine of the hindrance of the body to the soul could well be an ascetic commonplace, but here, placed in relationship with the ascent of the soul, and stressing the need for guiding angels, it points, almost certainly, to gnostic ideas of the ascent, and the hazards on the way. This aspect is treated in detail in the introduction (p. 30-42)

where the sources of the theory, its gnostic development, and the various forms in which it appears in apocalyptic are detailed. This sentence could serve as a précis of Plotinus words in Ennead I, 8, 4. The idea is σώμα = σῆμα.

Lines 8-11. See Introduction, p. 30-32.

Lines 11-13. See Introduction, p. 30-42. The dorsioir, (ostiarus) is the gnostic ἄρχων, or τελώνης, a sort of customs-officer who examines the (moral) baggage of the celestial voyager and then decides whether exclusion is called for or penalties to be imposed or free passage is to be granted. Cf. the prayer in Historia Iosephi Lignarii, Tisch. Ev. Apoc. 127: "neque sinas ut ostiarii animam meam ingressu paradisi prohibeant". The peculiar thing about our text is that it admits the damned to the various heavens. This motif was preserved in Christian visions because it was one way of letting the damned see the joys of the blessed, thus adding to their sufferings. Analogously, in FA, the blessed visit hell, evidently to increase their happiness by contrast with the lot of the damned.

But the original plan of the ascent was probably much different. If neo-platonic doctrines played a role in this rather gnostic fragment, then the souls condemned were those destined for reincarnation in another body. There

was a constant coming and going of souls: those possessing the true gnosis were allowed to return to their creator. The others, the imperfect were passible, and were tormented by avenging demons, and prepared for reincarnation in a form (man, beast, plant) corresponding to the nature of their faults. The cycle of births continued until they merited admission to their proper celestial dwelling. This aspect of neo-platonism permits still another approach to the "exclusi" of 14A. Porphyry expressly taught that some souls, enveloped by the humidity of nature, became surrounded by dense vapours, an εἰδωλόν, which drew it down to the abodes of dampness. Perhaps the "exclusi" in FA were originally such souls.

To reconcile the theory of the descent and ascent of souls with orthodox views of the individual soul and its fates was no small undertaking. FA gives us a precious example of how this was done. It was no perfect adaptation, but the very inadequacy of the attempt is most significant, for it represents a stage in syncretism where the contributing elements are still clear enough to be distinguished and to be referred, at least generally, to their origins.

Before beginning the section of the seven-heavens, it is well to stress the difference between the heavens as pictured here and the traditional scheme of heavens made up

of the spheres of the sun, the moon and the five planets. A new system is used in FA, and in the other fragments preserving this apocryphon. The origin of this new set of heavens is still very mysterious, and it is most interesting to see it placed in a text with the seven-walled city, a model of the primitively conceived planetary system. From this viewpoint, FA is a most daring bit of syncretism, and it is no wonder it failed, at least in part, to achieve unity.

150.

Dorus iarom ind nime as nesu ille is
 fair ro sudiged Michel arcaingel, ocus di oig inna
 farrad co flescaib iarnaidib ina n-ochtaib do
 sroigled ocus d'esorcain na peothach co comrai-
 cet iarom and sin na peodaig fri cetglifit ocus
 fri cetchesad na conaire cengait i.tiagait.

5

Now the door of the Heaven which is near-
 est this world has the archangel Michael set over
 it, and near him are two youths with iron lashes
 in their laps with which to beat and whip sinners,
 so that sinners may there meet the first reproach
 and the first suffering of the path they are tread-
 ing (i.e. going).

Line 1. Dorus. FA does not give the names of the heavens.
 Names are given in C, LF, M, N, but no one list is complete.
 According to C, LF, M, and N, the first door is called ABYSSUS.
C adds a second door called Sabaoth, paet is, Weoroda Duru,
 for pon englas dider ingad and manna sawla. If this first
 door is considered as being named from the viewpoint of one
 making the $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$, then it is especially appropriate,
 for then the soul emerges into the "abyss of matter" of this

world (cf. Pl. Ennead. IV, 3, 12).

Line 1: ind nime as nesu ille. This heaven is called "lyftlic" in C (see lyftlica heofon, Will. 4,). M, LF, N agree on "Air". (i.e. $\alpha\eta\rho$). It was denser ($\sigma\upsilon\chi\nu\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$) "gloomier" than the next region ($\alpha\iota\theta\eta\rho$). It corresponds somewhat with the יִלְחָלֵךְ of Berachoth 58 as being misty and dense and obstructing the light of the עֲרֵבָה .

Line 2: Michael. All texts agree in assigning Michael to the door of the first heaven. He later appears as in the seventh heaven. For the double role, see remarks on the angelology of the section in Introduction, p. 39.

Line 2. Di oig. These companions of Michael are two youths (virgins) in FA, LF and P, Y, M. The commonest reading is 'di oig' which probably means two virgins (female), the dual fem. plural of og (oao). The source may have had virgines, which, of course, could be translated by a masculine or feminine noun. C reads: "and twa faemnan hi healdad mid him, þa sindon nemde Equitas and Estimatio; ða habbad byrnende gyrde on hira, handum". The virgins are therefore Justice and Prudence ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ and $\phi\rho\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, cf. Charles, A and P II, 667, note 2). We may, therefore, assume that the $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of the

Y.

souls to be examined in this heaven consists in their being perfected in prudence and justice. The sinners, analogously, would be tormented for lacking these virtues. The scourging of the souls reflects the fairly widespread belief in the corporeality of the soul. This body, according to neo-platonic theory, it had acquired during the *κλῆθος*, and it had to be removed before being readmitted to union with its creator. The four virgins in the first two heavens recall the charmingly simple lines of the *Solarljod*:

Helgar meylar
 haufu hreinliga
 sal af syndum þuegit
 manna þeirra
 er a morgum degi
 pina sialfa sik. (SSE, 21).

Line 5. *peodaig*. It can reasonably be supposed that there are two types of travellers entering the first heaven: those who are capable of being purified, i.e. the imperfect, and those who are to be damned. Those purified are called anmand na naem in 16A. The (potential) saints are apparently not scourged. The sinners probably = the damned (*damnandi*), and their treatment is far more harsh.

Line 6. *conaire*. The 'conar' the soul treads after

death again reflects the primitive belief in a "journey", - "iter arduum" an active movement through the various stations of the next life. Effort and guidance are necessary in order to "ascend" the heavens.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE: As mentioned above, note to line 1, C gives a second door Sabaoth, and then attempts an explanation of it. But there is at least a possibility that Sabaoth was originally the name of the angel of the door. Sabaoth is the chief of the seven powers in charge of the planets in the gnostic systems. (cf. Bousset, Hauptprobleme, 9ff). Among the papyri published in Rhein. Mus. xviii, 563, there is one, (viz. pap. Brit. xlvii, 33) in which occurs the interesting phrase $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\omega}\theta, \text{Μελι-}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon \tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\nu\epsilon$, where $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon$ apparently means "possessor of the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ ", the remains of the dead. This is another interesting example of associating Sabaoth as a kind of $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$ with the other world.

16. Dorus immórró ind nime tanaísi Ariél ar-
 caingel as chometaid dó ocus di óig inna farrad
 co sroiglib tentidib ina llámaib is díbside sraig-
 lit na peodachu dara ngnussib ocus dara roscuib.
 Ro sudiged dano sruth tentide co forlasair fair 5
 i fíadnaisse in dorais sin. Aberaetus dano ainm
 aingil ingaire in t-srotha sin derbas ocus niges
 anmand na náem din chutrumma chinad nos lenand,
 co rroichet comglaine ocus comsoillse fri etroch-
 ta rétland. Ro sudiged dano and sin topor tait- 10
 nemach co m-bláthe ocus boltonugud do glanad ocus
 dídnad anmand inna fíren. Ingrinnid immórró ocus
 loscoid anmand na peotach ocus ní dingaib ní díb,
 acht is tuilled péne ocus pennaite ros ic and.
 Frisóobat íarom as sin na peodaig co mbrón ocus 15
 dubu dermar, na fíreóin íarom co subu ocus for-
 báelti co dorus in tres nímí.

Moreover, the door of the second heaven
 has the Archangel Ariel as its guardian, and two
 virgins are near him, holding fiery whips in their
 hands. With these they beat sinners across their
 faces and their eyes. Near this door is placed a
 fiery stream with a mighty flame upon it. Now

Abersetus is the name of the angel who guards this stream which tests and washes the souls of the saints from the quantity of crime which clings to them, so that they obtain a purity and brilliance equal to the brightness of stars. Furthermore, there is a bright spring placed there, with bloom and fragrance, to purify and solace the souls of the just. However, it torments and burns the souls of sinners, and diminishes nothing for them; it is rather an increase of pain and penance which reaches them there. With immense sorrow and grief do sinners rise up from it, the just, however, with joy and extreme happiness, (rise up from it) to proceed unto the door of the third heaven.

Line 1. Dorus. This door is called ELIOTH in C and LF. In M it is ILLISION, in N. ILLYSION. ELIOTH is quite mysterious. Elysium is an appropriate name for this heaven, insofar as there is a refreshing spring, flowers and fragrance in it - a celestial paradise.

Line 1. ind nime tanaise. The second heaven is called

'oferlyftlic' in C. This is equivalent to the Ether (Eitrim) of M, LF, and N.

Line 1. Ariel Arcaingel. All versions have a name which points to an original URIEL. URIEL is "over the world and over Tartarus" according to 1 Enoch, xx. 2. (Ed. Charles 1912 p. 43). If this apocryphon has gnostic elements, it represents a stage when the seven archangels were being substituted for the seven ἄρχοντες

Line 2. Di oig. C explains: and da twa faemnan mid him, da sindon nemde Continentia, and hi habbaþ fyrene girde in hira soetum, mid þam hi sleað da eagan para sinfulra sawla. If continentia = σωφροσύνη, and contentia = ἀνδρεία we then have the four Cardinal Virtues assisting in the purification of the souls. With this second παιδείσις, the just souls have finished that part of their ascent which entails suffering. They apparently undergo further "polishing" in the sixth heaven. (Vid. inf. sect. 18), but they pass the hazards of the third, fourth, and fifth heaven without delay or harm.

Line 3. co sroiglib tentidib ina llamaib. C represents the virgins of the second heaven as having whips in their laps, as FA does in the case of the Virgins of the first

heaven. . This is another instance of the confusion that appears so many times in the fragments.

Line 5: sruth tentide. This fiery stream is called Atveritas (= Adversitas) in LF.

Line 6: Abersetus. The name appears as APROSETOR in LF. The name is badly garbled, but may be from ADVERSARIUS, or ADVERSATUS. C spells it Abiersetus, and makes it the name of the fiery stream. A further example of the confused state of the text. Whatever the source, the names were grossly misunderstood and miscopied. K gives us no information, since the first two heavens are missing from that fragment. In N the name is ABYTHUS, which Willard thinks is due to the influence of Abythum, the name of the first heaven in N. (Will., p. 14).

Lines 7-8: in tsrotha sin derbas ocus niges anmand na naem. C reads: Daer beod da sawla aerist dwegene and clensud swa siolfur and gold. The star-simile in FA reminds one of the ancient belief that the stars were souls of the blessed.

Lines 10-14: Topor taitnemach. This spring is called fons roris in C, and there interpreted as wednisso flod (stream of mildness). In contrast with FA, C does not

speak expressly of sinners entering this well (spring):
Da sawla of daem byrnenda flode beaḍ sende in disne flod,
and daer biḍ pwegene and bebaḍude oḍ paet pa wunda beoḍ
hale. The sinners suffer in this stream according to FA.
 Here two motifs have crossed. Originally there was one
 (fiery) river which served as a barrier about the celest-
 tial paradise. It acted as a discriminating agent for
 those who tried to cross it. This fiery barrier is
 described by Clem. Alex. as *πῦρ σωφρονούν, φρόνιμον*
πῦρ, ὡς φθαρτικὴ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ σωτικὴ τῶν ἀ-
μεινόνων, with the further explanation: *διὸ καὶ φρόνιμον*
λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ
 (Clem. Alex., ed. Potter, Chhprt. p. 47; Paed. 111. 8,
 p. 280; Eccl. 25, p. 985). Such a river of fire is well
 described in the Arabic Testament of Isaac:

And he brought me to a river of fire,
 and I saw its waves beating and rising higher
 than thirty cubits, and the voice thereof was
 like rushing thunder. And I looked upon many
 souls sinking in it to a depth of more than
 nine cubits, and they who were in that river
 were weeping and crying out with a loud voice
 and deep groaning. And the river had intelligence
 in the fire thereof that it should not hurt
 the righteous, but sinners only, burning them,
 And it burnt every one of them because of the
 stinking and loathsome odour which enwrapt the
 sinners. (Transl. Barnes, TS, 2, p. 147).

FA has retained the discriminating power, but has
 assigned it to the "bright spring". This contamination

having been explained, this spring provides little difficulty. It is comparable to the "bright spring" placed in the first κοίλωμα of 1 En. xxi (E) 9 for the refreshment of the just. C very appropriately calls this spring fons roris, and attributes a healing power to the stream.

According to FA, this spring imparts a brightness like that of precious stones to the souls. This function of the "dew" suggests a phrase in Isaiah (26.19): $\text{דֵּל אִוֵּרִת פֶּלֶק}$

The dew communicates the $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, the light of immortality. The spring in FA is bright because it contains the דֵּל אִוֵּרִת . The "bright spring" provides an interesting example of how apocalyptic develops and retains motifs which are merely suggested by the sources. This, of course, is nothing strange when we consider e.g. the vast literature which has its origin in the first chapter of Ezekiel.

It will be noticed that all the fiery rivers of FA are $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha \nu\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}$. In the second heaven, the fiery river represents Tartarus, according to a tradition which placed both Paradise and Hades side by side in one of the heavens. According to 2 En., paradise and hell are in the third heaven (ed. Charles, pp.7-10). Cf. 4 Ezra vii.36: *Apparebit locus tormenti, et contra illum erit locus requietionis: olivamus gehennae ostendetur, et contra*

eum iocunditatis paradisi. Also Apoc. Joh. lx.2: Et aperuit puteum abyssi, etc.

If we imagine a combination of the lacus tormenti (= Nehar di-Nur-sruth tentide) with the puteum abyssi, and move both into the heavens, then Abyssus as the name of one of the heavens is explained. It would reflect a common procedure in apocalyptic. Cf. VMA: Eia, eamus in paradisum, et ego tibi ostendam ubi sedent animae iustorum et electorum. Et me fecit ascendere et ingredi in altum abyssum, cuius profunditas non manifestatur, et ibi vidi mansiones quarum splendor quinquagies septuplo magis quam sol et luna splendebat (ed. Chaine, p. 51).

The 7HA ultimately goes back to a source in which the theory of a Himmelsreise was well developed. The author of FA no longer understood the theory, and thus failed to make the various torments distinctly functional. All his fiery barriers are, in a sense, *πύρα νοητά*, and for his purposes one would have been enough.

Line 18. dorus in tres nimi. See the commentary on the following section (17).

17A.

Sornd tentide dano for lassad do gréss
 andside. Dá míle déo cubat iss ed rosoich a
 lassar i n-ardde. Tíagait dano anmand na fíren
 triasin sornd sin la brafad súla. Ergorid im-
 mórro ocus loscid and anmand na peothach co
 cend dá bliadna déo, co no-s-beir iar sin ain-
 gel in cóimtheota cosin cetramad ndorus.

5

A fiery furnace burns eternally there.
 Its flame extends twelve thousand cubits in
 height. The souls of the just pass through
 this furnace in the twinkling of an eye, but
 it bakes and burns the souls of sinners for
 twelve years, until, thereafter, the guardian
 angel carries them unto the fourth door.

The third heaven is called "se fyrena heofon" in
 C. In LF, N, M, it is called Olympus. K names this
 heaven Abottem. I am inclined to consider Abottem as =
 Abaddon (אַבְדֹן) of. Job. 26.6: אַבְדֹן לְכַסֵּת
 where it is considered as distinct from אֱלֹהִים . If this
 conjecture is correct, we have some key to these apparently
 semitic names: they are derived from words associated with

places of punishment (or refreshment). Abaddon would be an appropriate name for a heaven containing a place of torment. Abaddon is used for an intermediate place of punishment in 1 En. LI, 1.

The door of the third heaven is called IOTH in C, ISATH in LF, JARIAN in M, (?JULIAN) in N. (N calls the keeper of the door JULIAN, but it may be a variant of JARIAN, the door of the third heaven in M). According to M, the ostiarius of 3H is Raphael, but in N he is in charge of 5H. The authors knew but few names of angels. The most complete list of porters is in N (RIA, MS 23.L.29, s.xviii) and M (1817), both giving four: Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Sariel. FA mentions only Michael and Ariel.

Lines 1-2: Sornd tentide. The description in C is practically the same: Ealle da sawla para sodfaestra and dara synfulra farad purh pone lig: pa sodfaestan in anes eagan birhtme pone lig oferfarad; dam synfullan bynoed in pam lig .xii. wintra fyrst in disse worlde. In M, instead of a furnace, there is a river of ice, seven times colder than snow.

Lines 3-6. For the difference in effect of this fire, cf. note on Sect. 16, lines ⁽¹⁰⁻¹⁴⁾ 9-14. All sources agree in the duration of the torture of the sinners. The number

12 is rather favoured in Apocalyptic. Note that the flame of this furnace is 12,000 feet high. The significance of a 12 year period of torture is not clear. It may be related to the period of temporal penance imposed for serious sins. The penitentials contain many penances assigned for a number of years. Twelve, however, was also a number of the punishments in hell (cf. the twelve dragons in section 20). The more probable reason is an attempt at some number symbolism: seven being associated with heaven, and twelve with hell. For further remarks on this subject, see the commentary on section 20.

Lines 6-7. Note that the ἄγγελος ἀποκομίζων is still with the souls of the wicked. They are not parted until the judgment in the seventh heaven. Cf. notes to sect. 6, lines 8-9.

17B.

Is amlaid dano atá dorus inotachta in
 chetramad nime, agus sruth tentide oca thimcell
 amal in sruth romoind. Timchellaid dano mór for
 lassad: lethet a thened fri dá míle déo cubat
 tomsithir. Cengait immórro anmand inna fíren
 taris amal na beth etir. Agus fastóid anmand
 inna peotach fri ré da bliadna deo i tróge agus
 i todérnam co-no-s-beir aingel in cóemtechta co
 dorus in chúced nime.

5

Thus, then, is the entrance-door of the
 fourth heaven, and there is a fiery stream
 about it, like the preceding stream. A flam-
 ing wall surrounds it. The breadth of its
 fire is estimated as 12,000 cubits. The souls
 of the just walk through it as though it did
 not even exist, but it holds the souls of sin-
 ners for a period of twelve years in misery and
 punishment, until the guardian angel takes them
 to the door of the fifth heaven.

 C runs as follows: Siddan sio sawl bid laeded to daere
 feordan dura pære nama is Iohim. pæris fyren flod irnende,

and daer sind weallas ymbe pone flod; and daes flodes
braedo is .xii. dusenda faedma. And ealle da sawla
dara sodfaestra and sinfulra ferad ofer pone flod; and
swa io aer cwaed, pa sodfaestan in anes eagan birhtme
oferferad hi, and da sinfullan beod celde and cwilnde
.xii. wintra lengo.

Lines 1-2. The wording seems to imply a description of
the door which is now missing, not only in FA but in all
the other fragments. The fourth heaven is called "se
stronga heofon, pone we 'rodor' hatad, in C. LF and N
name it FIRMAMENTUM, M has IGNITUM (but M has apparently
confused 4H with 5H). K has IOTHIAM, which resembles the
name of the door (IOCHIM) in C. The door is named
LAZARUS in M and N, IACIM in LF. The doorkeeper is SARIEL
according to M and N.

Lines 3-4. Twelve continues to be the standard of measure-
ment and of time (line 6). Though the fiery streams are
rather monotonously alike in 7HA, they do have minor diff-
erences. Here the "wall of fire" is the distinguishing
factor. For twelve years of torment, there is an interest-
ing analog in the Arabic Testament of Abraham (transl.
Barnes, T and S, II.2, 1892, p. 136): "And I answered him,
I, Abraham, and said to him, and I also am a man who dwells

in a material body, and I know not whether they will let
me enter by the straight gate without my suffering tortures
for twelve years"

Line 7. See the commentary on sect. 18A, (line 5).

18A.

Sruth tentide beos and andside, acht is
 éosamail hé frisna srotha aile ar itá sóebhore
 sainraedach i mmedon in t-srotha sin, agus im-
 páid immá ouaird anmand inna peothach agus no-
 s-fastand co cend se mbliadna déo. Rosoichet 5
 immórro ind fíreóin tairis fo chétóir cen nach
 furech. In tan iarom as mithig túaslucud inna
 peothach ass, benaid in t-aingel in sruth co
 fleise dúir co n-aioniud leodu, co tóoband inna
 anmand súas do chind na fleisci. 10

There, too, is a fiery stream, but is is
 different from the other streams, for there is
 a peculiar whirlpool in the middle of that stream
 which turns about the souls of sinners, and holds
 them fast for sixteen years. However, the just
 cross it immediately, without any delay. When it
 is time to release the sinners from it, the angel
 beats the stream with a hard whip of a stony nature,
 and lifts up the souls on the tip of the whip.

The 5H is called "se egeslica heofon" in C, Coelum
 in M (apparently for Coelum Ignitum, the name having been

split up to provide a name for the 4H), Coelum Igneum in LF, Caelum Ignitum in N. K omits a name (a description of the 5H is missing in K).

The door 5H is called idit in C (= IGNITUM?). No other sources provide a name for this door.

The doorkeeper of this heaven is called RAPHAEL in N. The other versions do not mention a doorkeeper.

Lines 1-3: Sruth tentide . . . soebchore sainraedaoh. K places this description in the sixth heaven, and speaks of a whirling wheel in the stream: in medio eius rotam et angelo tartaracho cum virgis ferreis percutientis rotam, et inde volvitur in gyru et flumine tres; ponitur homo peccatur super rotam, xxi anni tormentatur. C describes as follows: Daer is flod ymbirnende, and birnende hweowol in middum daem flode ymbhweorfende, and hit scufed da synfullan ofdune in done birnendan flod. Donne ure Scippend ut wile da sawla danon alisan of dam flowendan fyre, he sended ponne his englas mid heardum gyrðum, þa beod in gemete hefigran ponne stanas. Se engel slihd mid daere in þone byrnendan flod and aheawed da sawle up of þam flode; of aeghwelcum anum slege aspringed.c. spearoena, in aeghwylcum anum bið mannes byrðen. .C. sawla dara synfulra sweltad and forweordad for dam spearoum. This

is remarkably close to K. Nevertheless, there are differences between K and C which indicate that they are not directly related. Thus FA and C both associate "stone" with the description of the whips or rods of the angel, whereas in K these rods are of iron and are used to make the wheel revolve. In K this wheel is not in a stream of fire. Both FA and C combine the two ideas, FA turning the wheel into a whirlpool. These variants seem to reflect different traditions, and peculiar confusion and blending. Apparently the 7H apocryphon was never too clearly understood in the West.

Line 5. se mbliadna dec. This number (16) breaks the symmetry of numbers in our text. Both O and K have twelve years. The corresponding section of CCC from YHL has twelve also. The number .xvi. probably came from a miscopying of .xii. As mentioned before, the significance of this number is somewhat obscure, but is probably associated with the twelve divisions of hell (as preserved in C), the twelve dragons, and the twelve pains. The definite period of time associated with these intermediate penalties is probably due to a strong concept of temporal punishment as contrasted with eternal punishment. Hell is a place where both forms are combined. The damned must experience both, the just are subjected to a limited purgation and are then admitted to the

presence of God, where they remain. The damned, in a gnostic sense, would profit from this purgation in so far as it prepared them for reincarnation - they would have returned to their creator, indeed, but their previous contamination with the flesh, their imperfect *γνώσις* would require their re-entry into the *κύκλος γενέσεως*. The orthodox rejection of metempsychosis brought confusion into such a theory, hence the contradictions arising in the 7HA as we have it, where an attempt has been made to combine it with the doctrine of hell. It should be emphasised that this attempt at combination is quite evident in the 7HA section, and as C shows, there was a tradition combining the ascent of the seven heavens with the descent of the twelve hells. The mention of the twelve dragons in FA 20 anticipates a description of hell, and though the author of FA chose to use a description of hell that lacked the well-worked out divisions, he did know that the theory of the 7HA involved a hell and consequently gave us one. This is an important point, for it argues for an original unity at least, and makes FA a singularly important document in the history of gnosticism in the West. Since, to maintain an appearance of orthodoxy, there had to be a hell, the problem arose as to how to get the condemned souls into it. FA makes their descent a matter of passing through the twelve

dragons. According to Q these dragons belong in hell, where they mark its divisions. In K, the soul is first delivered to the angelus Tartaruchus who plunges it in hell. These fragments, then, do imply a description of hell to follow, and FA supplies such a description. In fact, it looks as though some of the torments of the seven heavens were derived from a description of hell. All in all, it is a most curious mixture.

Lines 8-10. *co fleisc duir co n-aioniud lecdú.* This phrase may simply mean that the rod is as hard as stone. (Compare the description in the section of C quoted above). However, there is another possibility which may be advanced here. The angel in charge of the whirlpool performs a task appropriate enough for an *ἄγγελος βασανιστής*. Now in FA, this angel beats the stream, and lifts up the souls on his rod. The rod = *βάσανος*, the touchstone - it tests those ready for removal from the whirlpool. The souls are tried like gold in the furnace, and then removed, having been made fit for the Divine Presence. If this is true, then this whirlpool was originally one of the effective purgations in the ascent, antedating the confusion with the hell-motif. This etymologising interpretation of the rod is quite possible if the text derives in part from a

Greek original. Moreover, this approach may help to explain the mysterious name SELOTH which K assigns to the heaven containing the wheel. Like several other words preserved in various versions of the 7HA it has a definitely semitic appearance. There is a possibility that it is connected with a $\sqrt{\text{SLL}}$, e.g. which is found in syr. ܣܠܠ = to purify in Pa. (cf. ܣܠܠܐ = purgatio). The word Seloth may then represent the construct. fem. sing. of a noun meaning purgatio, purgatorium. It would be a most appropriate name, but the text providing us with this name is in such poor condition that no sound argument can be based on a single word, especially when the word is a foreign one and especially liable to mis-copying. See the remarks on ABOTTEM at the beginning of the commentary to section 17A. If, as remarked there, these apparently semitic words are derived from places of punishment, then the epithet 'egeslio' given to this heaven in C is rather fitting, insofar as the 5H contained a "purgatio horrenda".

18B. Berid dano Míchól iar sin na anmand co
 dorus in t-se sad nime. Ní armither immórro
 pían nó thodernaam dona anmannaib isin dorus
 sin, acht forosnaiter and o soillse ocus o
 etrochta líac logmar. Rosoich dano Míchól 5
 iar sin co aingel na trinóite co taisfénat
 díb linaib in n-anmain i fiadnaisse Dé.

Then Michael, after that, takes the souls
 unto the door of the sixth heaven. However,
 neither pain nor torment is meted out to the
 souls in that gate, but they are illumined there
 with the light and brilliance of precious stones.
 Thereafter Michael goes unto the angel of the
 Trinity, so that they, one on either side, may
 admit the soul into the presence of God.

Line 1. Michel. Michael is not mentioned as the $\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\text{-}\pi\omicron\mu\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ in C, nor in K. He does appear in this role in LF, M and N. In sect. 15C, Michael was in charge of the first gate, so that there is a contradiction here. This may be due to the limited number of angel-names available to the author of FA, or Michael may have been substituted

for a less known name. It is impossible to decide the original plan. However, the tradition of Michael as the $\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\pi\omicron\mu\text{-}\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ par excellence may account for a substitution here. The attendance of Michael until the judgment is accomplished is stressed in a Latin Homily (BN, MS Lat. 2628, ff. 103b-105r) printed by Louise Dudley (Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul, Baltimore, 1911, pp.164-5): Michael tamen non dimittet eam (sc. Animam) donec assignet eam ante tribunal Trinitatis, ut referat prout gessit sive bonum sive malum.

Lines 1-2. eo dorus in t-sessed nimo. The sixth heaven is called "engla heofon" in C, SELOTH in K, Hesperium in M, (text has KPERIUM), Angelorum in LF, and IMPERIUM in N. The SELOTH of K probably belongs to the fifth heaven. There are then two systems of naming. C and LF give us caelum angelorum, and the names of M and N are probably corruptions of τὸ ἐμπύριον. I know of no text wherein caelum angelorum is equated to τὸ ἐμπύριον. Again, confusion is obvious in the traditions of 7HA.

The door of 6H is called IERUD in C, and ERICUS in LF. They may both be variants of the same name, but as they stand they are most difficult to interpret.

Lines 3-5. Cf. C: *Ac ne bið him þær naenigu tintregu
geteled ne gerimed, ac þær scined þæt leoht þara
diorwyrþa eorclan-stana.* This agrees with LF (no punish-
ment, precious stones). There is no description in M.
In K, the sixth heaven seems to have replaced the fifth
so that there is really no description there. N has
'no pain', but then speaks of bathing the souls in a
well of healing.

C mentions the stones, but does not state, as FA
does, that they are the source of illumination for the
souls. FA thus makes this heaven a kind of dressing
room, where the garment of light is put on.

An explanation is possible if we assume that
τὸ ἑμπύριον is equivalent to Heaven of the Fixed Stars.
Then the precious stones = the stars. The soul, having
been purified in the other heavens, then receives the
light of the empyrean heaven before entering the abode
of the "Υψιστος. *τὸ ἑμπύριον*, however, is used in
neoplatonic speculation to signify the area extending above
the sphere of the fixed stars. Judging from our frag-
ments, however, the author of this apocryphon followed
no definite system of heavens. K, describing the seventh
heaven, speaks of the Lord sitting on a precious stone
which emits light and fire.

FA does not distinguish between the souls of the just and the souls of sinners at this point, but perhaps his source did. It is hard to imagine why the sinners should be illuminated, one would rather expect them to become darkened. This darkening of the sinful soul takes place in the 5H of the Armenian fragment trans. by Issaverdens. According to 16B, the sinners are not purified by going through the heavens, so they would hardly be illumined here. The text is doubtlessly abbreviated here as in so many other instances. A study of the accounts of the good and evil soul after death as contained, e.g. in the Visio Pauli, shows that FA has combined and thus partly confused the scenes of judgment.

Among the Armenian pseudepigrapha published by Doctor Jacques Issaverdens in his Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament, there is a fragment of an Esdras-apocryphon which contrasts the effect of the judgment on the just man with that on the sinners. The passage is quoted in full because of the Himmelsreise-theory it contains. The "Angel of the Lord" is speaking:

When I make a soul to pass through that path there are in it seven steps up to the Divinity. The first halting-place is one of terror and wonder. The second is awful and unspeakable. The third is hell and icy cold. In the fourth there

are quarrels and wars. In the fifth judgment is held; if it is the soul of a righteous man it is enlightened, and if of a sinner, it becomes dark. Then in the sixth the righteous shines like the sun. Then through the seventh I carry it, and bring it to prostrate itself before the great throne of the Divinity, over against paradise, before the glory of God, where dwells the transcendent Light. (Issaverdens, op.cit., 1901, 699-700).

This passage is quite similar to the 7HA used in FA, but it introduces judgment in the 5H, and speaks of the darkening of the soul of the sinner. Note that, as in FA, the seventh heaven is a heaven of light.

Line 6: aingel na trinoite. Only FA has this angel. I have been unable to find any direct parallel in apocalyptic literature. Since the scene is that of judgment we may expect that Michael acts as the defendant, while the "Angel of the Trinity" is probably the *κατήγορος*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECTION 18B. The reader of FA is probably impressed by the absence of any description concerning the tree of life which is so common an element in apocalyptic descriptions of paradise, earthly or celestial. Yet, FA may contain a substitute for the tree of life.

The Vision speaks of the souls as being illuminated in the seventh heaven "from the light and the bright-

ness of precious stones". This may mean either that they acquire a $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ or קִרְבָּן resembling the brilliance of gems, or that they are actually clothed in these jewels.

The first possibility needs but little comment, for the acquisition of a "garment of light", the קִרְבָּן of Dan. 12.3, is a very frequent teaching of Jewish and Christian eschatological writings. Then we need only equate the "precious stones" of FA with the stars. This brings us to the concept of the Tree of Life interpreted as the starry heaven (as in Philo, de quaest. in Gen. 1.10). The Tree of Life is then represented as bearing precious stones as its fruit - it becomes a Tree of Light. Cf. Gressman, "Mythische Reste in der Paradieserzählung", ARW (1907), p. 365. The eating of the fruit of this tree is equivalent to putting on the garment of light. We may then interpret the precious stones of FA as a substitute for the tree of life. There is a striking analog to the situation in Adamnan in Ezechiel 28, where the King of Tyre is said to have lived $\text{בְּחֹן אֲבִי-אֵשׁ, בְּחֹן קִדְשׁ אֱלֹהִים}$. Many scholars, e.g. Cornell, Zimmer, Gunkel, Keil, Kraetzschmar, Procksch, König, Tennant, believe that Ez. 28 goes back to a source describing the life of the first man in paradise. If so, FA is but another variant of this same tradition, used in a most fitting way, for it implies that

when a soul reaches this seventh heaven, it regains the garment of light belonging to the *πρωτοπλαστός* before his fall. Adam's garment of light retained its brilliance because he lived in paradise (the sacred mountain of God) among the *שְׂכָנֵי יְיָ*. It is another example of the obscure traditions preserved in this Irish apocalypse.

Some sources speak of clothing the soul with precious gems. Thus in *Yalkut Šim'oni* (Pent. XX), the reception of the just man into Paradise is described as follows: "In Paradise there are two gates of carbuncle guarded by 600,000 serving angels whose faces shine like the firmament. When a just man enters, they clothe him with garments of honour, and place on his head a crown of pure gold, adorned with precious stones and fine pearls."

19.

Is adbul tra ocus is dírim failte muin-
tire nime ocus in Comded fessin frisin n-anmain
in tan sin, mád anim ennac, firén hí. Mad an-
firén immórro, ocus mád anforbthe in anim, fogeib
anmine ocus acairbe ón Chomdid ohumachtach, ocus
atbeir fri aingliu nimi: Tarrgid lib, a aingliu
nimi, in n-anmain n-eoráibdig sea, ocus tabraid
l lláim Lucifir día badud ocus día formúchad l
fudamain iffirnd tria bithu sír.

5

Vast and boundless is the joy of the
heavenly family and of the Lord Himself at the
soul at that time, provided that it is an innocent
and just soul. If, however, the soul is unjust
and imperfect, it receives harshness and severity
from the powerful Lord, and He says to the angels
of heaven: Oh angels of Heaven, carry off with
you this impious soul, and deliver it into the
hand of Lucifer, to be plunged and suffocated in
the depths of hell for eternity.

This seventh heaven is called "heofon þære halgan
Drinnisse in C. In K it is called THERUCH, & LF. has SEDES

TRINITATIS, N gives Coelum trinitatis, as does M. Only one text, LF, names the door of this heaven: ALMA. No text specifically mentions an OSTIARIUS for this heaven, but the ANGELUS TRINITATIS of FA may be such a guardian.

Line 1. *failte muintire nime.* Many passages analogous to this could be quoted. One of the finest is that contained in the NARRATIO ZOSIMI. Here are found the cortege of angels, the journey of the soul, and the presentation to God: *τότε οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀναλαμβάνοντες ᾄδουσιν ᾠσμα καὶ ὕμνον ψάλλοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλα τᾶγματα τῶν ἀγγέλων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπαντῶσιν ἀσπαζόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν προσερχομένην καὶ εἰσερχομένην εἰς τὰ στερεώματα. καὶ ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων δέχεται τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μάκαρος καὶ προσφέρει πρὸς τὸν ἀχράντον πατέρα τῶν αἰώνων. Καὶ πάλιν ὅταν ψάλλωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἄνω, ἡμεῖς ὄντες κάτω ὑπακούομεν αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς ψάλλομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπακούουσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ οὕτως ἀνάμεσον ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀνέρχεται ἡ δοξολογία τῆς ὕμνολογίας. ὅτε δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μάκαρος πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνῇ τὸν κύριον, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς πεσόντες προσκυνοῦμεν τῇ αὐτῇ εὐχα τὸν κύριον*

(ed. M. R. James, Ap. Anec., TS II.3, p. 105).

Lines 3-9: FA does not mention that the judgment takes place in the seventh heaven. C describes the scene as follows: Siddan hi biod laeded to pam heofone and to pam heahsetle paere halgan Drinnisse, and him bid paer demed. paer Sanctus Michael agifed pa sawla paera sodfaestra and paera sifulra. paet is paet se wealdend cwid, 'Syllad pa synfullan sawla pam grimman engle to owilnianne and to besencanne in helle'.

The words of condemnation are thus given in LB (Windisch, IT, l. 183, lines 18-20): Et dixit fri haingliu nime: Hanc animan multo peccantem angelo Tartari tradite, et demergat eam in infernum. K words the condemnation thus: Dominus iudicat de illo homo peccator, et tradatur hunc ad angelum Tartaruchus. Et angelum dimergit eum in infernum. We have, therefore, three versions of the name for the angel who receives the sinful soul:

1. "the grim angel" of C,
2. the angelus Tartari of LB,
3. angelus tartaruchus of K (= ἄγγελος
Ταρταροῦχος).

This name occurs in the Visio Pauli: Tradatur ergo angelo Tartaruchus qui prepositus est penis
(ed. M.R. James, T & S, II.3, p. 19) Cf. Apoc. Pauli ed.

Tischendorff: παραδοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη Ταρταρούχῳ ἀγγέλῳ, καὶ φυλαττέσθω ἕως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως . Cf. the words of condemnation in VMA: Ducite nunc illam ad Satanam patrem eius; tradite eam Temliakos, angelo gehennae; ut ponat eam in maxima gehenna. Ibi erit donec veniam iterum iudicare omne saeculum in novissimo die, tunc redibit ad corpus suum prius, et descendet in magnum supplicium (ed. Chaine, l.c., p. 50).

That the wicked soul should be presented to God to be judged is not unusual. The VISIO PAULI contains an instructive passage about the journey of the wicked soul after death. I quote it in full, because it obviously implies an arduous Himmelsreise by the unjust soul going to receive judgment. The guardian angel (consuetus angelus) is speaking to the soul: (ed. James, l.c. 18-19)

Ego tibi quidem alienus factus sum, et tu mihi. Pergamus ergo ad iudicem iustum; non te dimittam antequam ab odierna die scio quia alienus tibi factus sum. Et spiritus confundebat eum et angelus conturbabat. Cum ergo pervenissent ad potestatem, cum iam ingredi celum abiret, labor impositus est ei super alium laborem; error et oblivio et susurratio obviaverunt eam, et spiritus fornicationis et relique potestates, et dicebant ei: Ubi perges, misera anima, et audes praecurrere in celo? sus-

tine, ut videamus si abemus in te peculiararia nostra, quia non videmus tibi sanctum adiutorem. Et post haec audivi voces in excelso celorum dicentes: Offerte miseram animam deo, ut cognoscat quia est deus ut contempsit. Cum ergo ingressa esset ^{c-}coelum, viderunt eam omnes angeli milia miliorum et exclamaverunt una voce, omnes dicentes: 'Ve tibi, misera anima, pro operibus tuis que fecisti in terra; quid responsum datura es deo cum accesseris adorare eum?' Respondit angelus qui erat cum ea et dixit: Flete mecum, mei dilectissimi, requiem enim non inveni in hac anima . . . Et post haec oblata est ut adoraret in conspectu dei, et monstravit ei angelus dominum deum qui eam fecit secundam imaginem et similitudinem suam. Then follows the examination and condemnation. In this passage above lies the framework of a detailed Himmelsreise. If we distribute the "potestates" in various categories through the heavens; and then assume that those of each heaven in turn stop the soul in its ascent to see if it be tainted with the vice peculiar to the heaven, then we have a system like that of the Mandaitic books. The planets represent the hostile powers, constituting Matartas, stations wherein those not possessing the requisite purity are imprisoned and tortured.

20 A. Is and sin iarom scarthair ind anim
thruág sin co áigthide ocus co hacarb ocus co
adúathmar ri frecnarcus flatha nime ocus gnussi
Dé.

B. Is and dano dolléci in n-osnaid as trum- 5
mu cach n-osnaid oc techt i ngnúis Díabail iar
n-ascin oíbniussa flatha nime. Is and soarthair
fri comairge inna n-árcaingel lasa tánio dochum
nimi.

C. Is and sin dano slucit na dá draic déo 10
thentide cach anmain d'éis a céle co curend
úadi in draic inichtarach i ngnú Díabail. Is
and sin fogeib comslaintius cacha huile la
frecnarcus Diabail tria bíthu sír.

Thereupon that unfortunate soul is separated with fear, bitterness and terror from the presence of the kingdom of heaven and the face of God.

Then it sends forth a sigh which is heavier than every other sigh, going to face the devil after seeing the delights of the kingdom of heaven. Then is it separated from the protection of the archangels with whom it came un-

to heaven.

Moreover, then it is that twelve fiery dragons swallow down each soul, one after another, until the lowest dragon hurls it from himself into the mouth of the Devil. Then does it receive the plenitude of all evil in the presence of the devil throughout eternity.

Lines 1-9. The Secla lai bratha contains a similar passage, applied to the condemnation of the Last Judgment. The beginning of the section is lost: . . . do aitraib iffirnd tria bith sir. Ocus it e beti i scoraib ocus i llong phortaib Diabail. Ocus soerait fri airfitind in domain seo ro char-sat. Ocus fri gnusib muintire nime .i. na n-aingel ocus na noem ocus na firen. ar mbith doib mile bliadna i tenid bratha. ar is e sin re lathi bratha mar innisit trachtaireda na canoni noimi. (LH lines 2401-2405).

Is ed bertair iar sin do taig Diabail co fogur derchainte co tromosnadaib sirrehtaib. Bid truag gair ocus nuall golfadaoh ocus eigmeoh. bron ocus basgaire. na tuath peodach and sin iea tarroing dochum pene iffirnd. (ibid. 2407-2410).

Lines 10-14. C makes it clear that the dragons consume the souls after they have been brought to hell. Here is the entire passage from C: Sio helle hafad iserne weal and .xii. sidum hil beliet da helle; and ofer pam .xii. fealdum para wealla waeron .xii. dracan fyrene. Se grimma engel sended pa synfullan sawla pam ytemestan dracan, and he hi forswelged and eft aspiwed pam nideran dracan, swa hira aeghwylc sended odrum in mud pa sawla de biod gebundene mid pam bendum dara eahta synna ealdorlicra. Se ytemesta draca, paet is paet ealdordeoful, se lihd gebunden onbecling mid raceteage reades fyres, to taene Cristes rode, in hellegrunde. And deah de hwylc mon haebbe .c. tungena, and dara aeghwylc haebbe isene stefne, ne magon hi asecgan helle tintrego and da fulnissa dara dracona ond done singalan hungor. (Willard, op.cit. 6). The situation is made still clearer in another homily (Cotton Faustina Aix, fol. 12): Sanctus Michael nimd pa sodfaestan sawle and gelaet hi beforan Godes heasetle; and paer heo gesyhd ealle hyre weorc pe heo to gode dyde her on worulde. pa earman sawla man laet to hylle and man mynegad hy hyre yfeldaeda. And onbutan helle syndan .xii. ysene weallas, pa synd ealle byrnende readum fyre; and widinnan aelcum wealle is synderlic witungstow, pe pa sawla purhfaran sculan aer hy to helle cuman. Then follows a description of

hell like that of Q above.

The twelve-year periods of torment mentioned in 7HA are probably connected with the twelve walls and the twelve dragons of hell. Such symmetry of structure and number is common in apocalyptic. The dodekad was an important element in the Valentinian system, according to which the Cosmos is divided into an ogdoas, a dekas, and a dodekas. The dodekas may be related to the zodiac. At any rate, it was inferior world, and could well be thought of as a type of hell. The twelve inferior aeons of the Pistis Sophia are another possible source for the twelve-fold world of evil. Unfortunately, no full description of such a twelve-fold hell is known to have been preserved in western visions. The author of FA, who probably knew at least indirectly the short hell portion in K and C, substituted a fuller description to complete his vision.

The substitution, however, was done rather carelessly, for, in a sense, the author has already introduced us into Hell in Sect. 20. He may have thought that the dragons were a sort of elaborate passageway between heaven and hell, but this is contrary to the plan of K and C: the swallowing takes place in Hell, after the wicked soul has been delivered to the ἄγγελος Ταρταρούχος.

The 7HA does not describe the route of the soul's descent.

After comparing FA with K, C, LF, N, and M it becomes quite clear that the Apocryphon was inserted into the text of FA without any marked effort to reconcile it with what went before and what follows. At least, as the text is now extant, no such attempt is evident. Until a detailed description of the twelve-hells comes to light it is impossible to determine whether there is any relationship at all between the hell-section of FA and the twelve-walled hell of K and C. A careful comparison of section 20 with sections 21-31 makes such a relationship highly improbable. In FAH the devil does no swallowing, and the eight glowing beasts of section 22 are quite different from the twelve dragons of section 20. We are practically compelled to conclude that FAH is at decided variance with the type of hell implied at the end of K and C. However, the hell of K and C does invite elaboration - indeed, it was the elaboration of such a terraced hell which provided the pattern for Dante's Inferno. The adding of sections 21-31A does not, therefore, involve a contradiction in judgment or delicacy on the part of the author. It was unfortunate that he did not have at hand a description elaborating the symmetry implied by the brief allusions in K and C.

Consequently, we enter a new world in passing into

the hell sections. It is largely the traditional underworld, with the traditional collection of sins and punishments, lacking the symmetry and range of imagination of the sections which have gone before.

21 A. O ro foillsig thra aingel in choimtechta
do anmain Adamnan na físi sea flatha nímí agus
cétimthúsa cecha hanma iar techt as a corp, ros-
fuc leis hí iar sin d'insaigid íffirn iníchtaraig
co n-immud a pían agus a ríag agus a thodérnam. 5

B. Is é iarom cétna tír coso ráin, tír ndub
ndóthide, sé folom, follscide, cen péin and etir.
Glend lán di thenid fris anall. Lassar dermár
and co téit dara oraib for cech leth. Dub a
íchtur, derg a medón agus a uachtor. Ocht 10
mbíastai and, a súil amal bruthu tentidí.

When the guardian angel had revealed
to the soul of Adamnan these visions of the
Kingdom of Heaven, and the first adventures of
each soul after it has left its body, he then
took it with him to visit lowest hell, and the
abundance of its pains and tortures and suffer-
ings.

This is the first land it reached: a
black, scorched land, void and parched, with
no pain at all in it. A valley filled with
fire borders on it on the farther side. Its
lowest portion is black; the middle and top

portion are red. Eight beasts are there,
 their eyes like burning coals.

Line 1: O ro foillsig thra aingel . . . do anmain Adamnan.
 This is the first time that the seer and his companion have been mentioned since section 3. A similar remark occurs again in section 31A. Within the 7H-sections and the H-sections, the seer is not mentioned, and the description is in the third person. The author has apparently inserted these three references to Adamnan (3A, 21A, 31A) in order to give a superficial appearance of unity. The insertions are so obvious that it may be concluded that they did not form an original part of the vision-materials used. At the same time, they show that the author (or redactor) was making an effort to secure unity, and that he intended to include the H-sections from the beginning of his work. This is already implied in 3A, and reiterated in 31A: both heaven and hell formed part of the original plan of the author.

Line 3: oetimthusa cecha hanma. This remark can only apply to the 7H sections, for the descriptive and narrative portions of sections 4-15A hardly apply to every soul after death, whereas the 7HA implies that the just and sinners

alike must make the ascent of the heavens after death, and, during that ascent, the souls do indeed meet with adventures. It seems, therefore, that the author (or redactor) who tried to fit this material together in a Vision of Adamnan also used the 7HA together with its appendix about the twelve dragons. The "first adventures" are the events in the soul's experiences from death until judgment. These adventures take place in the seven heavens, and the latter appeared in the original redaction.

Lines 3-4: Rosfuc leis hi iar sin d'insaigid iffirn inichtaraig Compare this with 3A: ocus ros fuc leis ar thus do fegad flatha nimi. This again shows the hand of the same author (or redactor).

Line 4: iffirn inichtaraig. This seems to imply a subterranean hell. Compare section 2, lines 12-19 where we have "oslocud in talman", with reference to the vision of the apostles. However, this is never expressly stated in the H-section, and section 3lB seems to imply that hell is reached after passing the "fial glainide"! - this is so contradictory at first, that one might be led to think that 3lB is out of place, belonging more properly after section 20. The explanation is to be found in the type of "journey" used in sections 4-13 and in 21-31. Within these sections

the movement is one of advancing, as one goes from place to place, country to country on a voyage. It is a *hingen*, not the *hinaufsteigen* of the 7H-sections: *procedere*, not *ascendere*. Thus 31B is not really a contradiction; it is really the simple idea that to get back to where one started, one must retrace his steps. This kind of movement can be well illustrated from the Gizeh fragment of 1 Enoch, e.g. chaps. xxviii ff.: *καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ μέσον, Μανδοβαρά, καὶ ἴδον αὐτὸ ἔρημον . . . Ἔτι ἐκεῖθεν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἄλλον τόπον . . . καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ὄρους τούτου ὥχόμεν . . . καὶ . . . ὥχόμεν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μακράν . . . καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐφόδευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντων τῶν ὁρέων τούτων . . .* (1 En., ed. Charles, 1912, pp.303-304).

The movement is the same in Bede's account of the vision of Drythelm (v.12): *incedebamus autem tacentes . . .; cumque ambularem, devenimus ad vallem . . . Et cum progederemur . . . Quo cum perductus essem . . . iter, quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere cepit.* (ed. Plummer, 304-307). Drythelm also returns along the same path he had gone: *"Cumque reversi perveniremus ad mansiones, etc."* (Plummer 308). In the related sections, therefore, FA follows a long established tradition according to which the next world was a series of lands, seas and rivers which were

traversed, just as in a trip in this world. The movement of the 7HA, which is a *ὑπερβαίνειν*, belongs to a different type of apocalyptic - a type especially developed in the various gnostic systems. The ascent is then marked by increasing grades of illumination and beatitude. The

הִיכָלוֹת - literature marks the ultimate development in this genre of apocalyptic.

We can conclude then that in FA the author follows the traditional pattern of movement, except in the 7HA. He goes from region to region: the first region is the Land of the Saints, then the Plain of the Heavenly Family, and now the "black, scorched land" of hell. There has been no mention of a descent of the 7H. For a strong contrast, see the *Ascensio Isaiae*. (in Hennecke, NT-Apocryphen, pp.292-305).

Line 6. Is e iarom oetna tir coso ranic. Cf. the notes on line 4. This formula is common in the Immrama-literature, but is also the general pattern of all western apocalyptic.

Lines 6-11. This wasteland provides an excellent setting for the sections to follow, and its barrenness and emptiness make a strong contrast to the "Tir sutach, solusta" of sect. 4. Cf. Dante's "E vengo in parte ove non e che luca" (*Inferno*, LV. 151) with the "Black (dark) land" of this section, cf. the Vision of Drythelm: ". . . vidi subito ante nos ob-

um ignis". Drythelm reports his vision of the *χάσμα* as follows: "Et cum progredieremur 'sola sub nocte per umbras', ecce subito apparent ante nos crebri flammaram tetrarum globi, ascendentes quasi de puteo magno, rursumque decedentes in eundem". (Plummer, 305).

Lines 11-12: *ocht mbiastai*. Cf. Bedes account of Furseus' vision (HE 111.19): "Vidit autem et daemones per ignem volantes incendia bellorum contra iustos struere".

(Plummer, 166). I do not know why there are eight "beasts" in FA. According to sect. 22 they swallow those who fall from the bridge. That the dragons of hell should consume the damned, thus becoming their hell is found quite early in Apocalyptic. See sect. 22 on this. These beasts have glowing eyes and (in sect. 22) are "glowing beasts" as a result of their fiery habitat. See section 29B.

The beast sometimes becomes the only hell; the gaping mouth of the pit is the mouth of this beast. The motif is found in the Apocalypse of Abraham 31 and in 4

Baruch 4: Baruch asks: *τίς ἐστὶν ὁ δράκων οὗτος* ;
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ὁ μὲν δράκων ἐστὶν ὁ τὰ σώματα
τῶν κακῶς τὸν βίον μετερχομένων ἐσθίων· καὶ ὑπ'
αὐτῶν τρέφεται· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄδης, ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς
παρόμοιός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ , . . . (ed. James, TS, V.1, p.86).

The ealdordeoful of C (vii) is such a consuming dragon, the last of twelve. These Eurynomus-like *διάβολοι* became very common in the Middle Ages, in art as well as in literature. All are images probably derived from the tomb which, as *σαρκοφάγος*, corrupts the body and, figurately, consumes it. Therefore we read in the Commentary of Servius to Aen. VI: Cerberus terra est, et consumptrix omnium corporum (on Aen. VI, 395). The *σκώληξ* of Isaias LXVI, 24, is related to the same sphere of images.

22.

Drochet dérmár dano darsin nglend.

Gabaid ond ur co araili. Ard a medón, isli
immórro a dá n-imechtar. Trí slóig oo air-
mirt techta thairis ocus ní huli rosagat.

Slóg díb, is lethan dóib in drochet o thús 5
oo dered, oo roichet ógslán cen uamun cen
imeola tarsin nglend tentide. Slóg aile dano
ocá insaigid cáel dóib ar thus he, lethan im-
mórro fo deóid, co rochet iarom anlaid sin

tarsin nglend cétna íar mórgábud. In slóg 10
dedenach immórro, lethan dóib ar thús in
drochet, cóel ocus cumung fo dóid co tuitet
día medón isin glend ngaibtheoh cetna i mbrágtib
na n-ocht mbiast mbruthach út ferait a n-aittreb
isin glind. 15

Over the valley is a very great bridge.
It extends from one edge to the other. It is
high in the middle, but its two ends are lower.
Three groups try to pass it, but all do not
achieve it. For one of these groups the bridge
is broad from beginning to end, so that they
pass over the fiery glen completely unharmed,
without terror or fear. For the second group

the bridge is narrow at the beginning, when they attempt to cross it, but broad at the end, so that they get across the same valley after great danger. However, the last group finds the bridge broad at the beginning, but straight and narrow at the end, so that they fall from its middle into the same dangerous valley, into the jaws of the eight burning beasts there who make their dwelling in the valley.

Lines 1-15: Drochet dermar. WS, in his translation of FA (Fraser's Mag., Feb. 1871, p. 189) compared this bridge with the Chinvato peretus of the Zend-Avesta, Boswell, IPD p. 71 and p. 112, makes similar comparisons. The Persian tradition is indeed the best source for studying this bridge. In the Pahlavi-literature the bridge-idea was somewhat refined, and I prefer to use this later material for purposes of comparison. The bridge-episode does occur in other western visions (e.g. Tundale, Frate Alberico), but in them it is an episode belonging to hell, whereas in FA, as in the Pahlavi-texts, the bridge is a hazard which all souls must attempt to pass. It leads to paradise or to

damnation. The structure and function of this bridge are thus described in Dadistan-i Dinik:

" . . . ; reaching unto the vicinity of that peak (the Daitih-peak) is that beam-shaped spirit, the Kinvad bridge, which is thrown across from the Alburz enclosure back to the Daitih-peak. As it were that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges there are some which are broad, and there are some which are thin and sharp; its broad sides are so large that its width is twenty-seven reeds, and its sharp sides are so contracted that in thinness it is just like the edge of a razor. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive it turns to that side which is suitable to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him (i.e. Rashnu) who takes the just account."

"Moreover, the bridge becomes a broad bridge for the righteous, as much as the height of nine spears - and the length of those which they carry is each separately three reeds - ; and it becomes a narrow bridge for the wicked, even unto a resemblance to the edge of a razor." (Transl. West, SBE xviii, ii, 48-49). The function of the bridge is stated more clearly in the following passage:

And that third night, in the dawn, they (the souls of the dead) go to the place of account on Alburz; the account being rendered they proceed

to the bridge, and he who is righteous passes over the bridge on the ascent, and if belonging to the ever-stationary (hamistaniko), he goes thither where their place is, if along with an excess of good works his habits are correct he goes even unto heaven, and if along with an excess of good works and correct habits he has chanted the sacred hymns he goes even unto the supreme heaven. He who is of the wicked falls from the lower end of the bridge, or from the middle of the bridge; he falls head-foremost to hell, and is precipitated unto that grade which is suitable for his wickedness. (Trans. West, l.c., pp.46-47).

Comparing the passage in FA with the passages above it becomes clear that there is some similarity between the accounts, but FA has a trait not described in the Pahlavi-texts (or elsewhere in Persian relig. literature): the narrowing and widening of the bridge for those who get over "after great danger". This may possibly refer to the hamestagan, but section 23 describes them as "those who are forced by necessity to do the will of God, and thereafter they turn their necessity into voluntary willingness unto God". This is an entirely new use of the bridge-episode, and is without a known parallel.

Moreover, FA has no angel corresponding to Rashnu who takes the account; indeed, the author suppresses any reference to the bridge as a judge or decider of the soul's fate. This is consistent with the placing of the individual judgment of the soul in the seventh heaven (sect. 19).

The bridge in FA serves three purposes:

- (a). It is a device for getting the damned into the fiery glen (the place of preliminary punishment) until the last judgment.
- (b). It is a path enabling the blessed to see hell while on the way to heaven. (For the ideas involved see the commentary on the following section).
- (c). In addition to these two functions, which may be called practical, it has a symbolic function, representing the effect of gradual conversion on the souls of those belonging to group 2 of section 23: the more willingly the service of God is undertaken, the easier the path of virtue becomes. The bridge thus symbolises the spiritual risks to which these souls exposed themselves before their complete conversion: they nearly fell into hell. These souls are not to be equated with those whose good and evil are equal. The souls of section 22, who cross after hazard, belong among the just, and the bridge is merely a symbolic hazard for them. At the same time it also enables them to see hell, like the group for whom the bridge is wide from beginning to end.

I am inclined to believe that the function assigned to the bridge in C is not original, but was inserted by the author to secure a special effect. The symbolism would have impressive significance for readers acquainted with the monastic principle of "blind obedience", that form of submission to the will of God which is completely selfless, and which expresses the perfection of the vow of obedience. If there are three groups attempting the crossing of the bridge, the categories we would expect are: 1. The perfect, who meet with no difficulty; 2. Those with varying portions of good and evil, for whom the trial of the bridge has a purgatorial effect (like the Mohammedan Sirat); 3. Those who are completely wicked and who, consequently, fall into the valley of fire. The author of FA has given a special interpretation to group (b), making the bridge symbolic rather than functional for them, for if they were completely converted when setting foot on the bridge, they had nothing to be removed (by trial) in the crossing of the bridge: they merely perceive more clearly the dangerous state they were in before conversion.

The reason for this change is not hard to trace. Once the 7HA had been introduced to provide a purgatory for the imperfect, the bridge no longer needed to function as such. As for those whose good and evil are equal, they are

assigned a special place of intermittent punishment in hell (sect. 24). Yet the tradition of a threefold division at the bridge was so strong that the author preferred to change the nature of one of the groups rather than eliminate it completely. Though an imperfect adaptation, it does represent an attempt to eliminate inconsistency of eschatological theory. The author, having removed the equivalent of Rashnu to the seventh heaven also placed the original purgatorial functions of the bridge (here best considered as the Mohammedan Sirat) in the first two heavens.

It should be remembered that there is no official teaching of the Roman Church as to the location of purgatory. "Omnia igitur quae spectant ad locum, durationem, poenarum qualitatem, ad catholicam fidem minime pertinent, seu definita ab Ecclesia non sunt". (J. Perrone, Praelectiones Theologicae, II, 122). For the Eastern Church see Intro. p.20-29.

23.

Is íat lucht díarbo soirb in sét sain:
 áes óige, áes atrige lere, áes dergmartra
 dutrachtaige do Dúa. Is í dano fairend diarbo
 chumunc ar thús, agus díarbo lethan for deóid
 iar sin in sét: drem timairciter ar écin do 5
 denan thole Dé, agus soit a n-écin iar sin i
 toltanche foghoma do Dia. Is dóib immórro robo
 lethan ar thús in drochet agus díarbo chumung
 fo deóid: dona peathacaib contúaset fri for-
 cetol bréthre Dé agus ná comaillet iarna olostín. 10

Those are the people for whom that path
 was easy: the chaste, zealous penitents, those
 who willingly suffered red-martyrdom for God.
 The group for whom that path was narrow in the
 beginning but broad at the end consists of
 those who are forced of necessity to do the will
 of God, and who then turn their necessity into
 voluntary service of God. Those for whom the
 bridge was broad in the beginning and narrow at
 the end consists of sinners who listen to the
 preaching of the word of God, but do not fulfill
 it after hearing it.

Line 2. aas oige, lit. "folk of chastity", i.e., the chaste. Chastity was, of course, one of the three great monastic virtues, and its perfect observance was traditionally considered to merit a special place in heaven. Cf. the comm. on sect. 6, lines 1-7.

Line 2. aas atrige lere. Penitents are included among those who reach the celestial city (in section 12, lines 3-4), according to the reading of LB and P.

Line 2. aas dergmartra. Red martyrdom is thus described in the Cambray Homily: "This the red martyrdom: to endure a cross and destruction for Christ, as happened to the Apostles in the evil ones' persecution and in teaching God's law." The other two types of martyrdom are "ban-martre", and "glas-martre" (white and blue martyrdom).

Thus, according to the author, three classes find the path to heaven easy: the chaste, the penitents, the martyrs. This is entirely consistent with section 12 (if we add the reading of LB and P) and is another indication of the original unity of the text. These three classes, who represent the SANCTI and SANCTISSIMI pass over hell, so that the contemplation of the place of torment may add to

their joy upon arriving in the celestial city. This is an old motif in Apocalyptic, and is expressed in various ways. Thus paradise and hell are sometimes placed side by side (as in SBH 10, and in 4 Ez., quoted above in the comm. to sect. 16, lines 9-13), or at least within seeing distance, as in the story of Dives and Lazarus, (Luc. xvii. 20-26). Another common device was to have the soul go on a journey to heaven and hell (as in the passage cited from VPL, supra, comm. on sect. 19, lines 3-5).

The basic principle involved is stated quite clearly in the Vision of Tundale. Here the function of the bridge is also emphasised. I quote from the (early) Middle French text, because it is essentially the same as the Latin text and deserves to be better known:

Mais maintes ames sont delivrees des tormens d'enfer par la misericorde de dieu ia soit ce que il aient pechie, et sont menees veoir les painnes d'enfer quant elles trespasent de lors cors avant que on les presente en la gloire de paradis, pour ce que il plus puissent loer lor creatour et avoir grignour joie et grignour leesce des tormens dont il les a delivres par sa misericorde. Et ausi les ames des dampnes sont avant menees veoir le gloire de paradis qu'eles soient presentees as tormens d'enfer, pur ce qu'eles soient plus tormentees et plus courecies de la gloire et de la hautece de paradis et de la compaignie des sains anges et des autres glorieus sains que il ont perdu par lors pechies. Ne nul si grant torment n'est ne si grant douleur ne ne puet estre comme di perdre la compaignie de dieu et des

sains. Et pour ce li prestre que tu veis
 qui passa le premier pont si hardiement fu
 avant mene veoir les tormens d'enfer que
 il fust menes en la gloire de paradis pour
 ce que il rendist a dieu plus grans graces
 des tormens dont il l'avoit delivre par sa
 misericorde. (London MS, BM. add.9771,
 s.xiv, ed. Friedel as L, pp.24-25).

In FA a similar theory is found, and the bridge is put to a similar use. I believe that it is incorrect to interpret the bridge as making a threefold division of souls immediately after death. It quite obviously does not do so, for the only people falling from the bridge in FA are the unrepentant sinners, who were destined for hell after their trip through the seven heavens. The bridge episode is no more out of place in FA than it is in Tondale. In no place does the author say that the soul approaches the bridge immediately after death. The "cetimthusa" of the souls consist in their ascent of the heavens, sect. 21, lines 2-3. Seymour's analysis (IVO, p. 31 ff.) creates problems of interpretation which do not exist after the bridge-episode has been carefully read, cf. the comm. to section 22.

Lines 3-7. For this second group passing the bridge see above, comm. to sect. 22. These people do not constitute a special class for it is implied that they finished their life in the voluntary service of God. They must, therefore, be classed among the just, and are candidates for the celestial

city. The operation of the bridge in their case is symbolic and not functional.

Lines 7-10. The sinners fall off to become the food of the eight burning beasts. They are here described as those refusing to observe the law of God after hearing it. The wording is probably derived from an interpretation of the "Parable of the Sower". The people in this last category are like "he who received seed by the wayside" (Matt. 13.19). They are the ones lacking understanding mentioned in the LB prologue, part F.

Line 1. The people described here are the intermedii mentioned above in the course of the commentary on sect. 14, lines 1-6. They should be compared with the hamestagan of the Book of Arda Viraf (see quotation above sect. 14, lines 1-6). They are beyond the bridge, but the author has not told us how they were assigned to their places.

Line 2: Traig na pene. This implies that there is a Nehar di-Nur in hell as well as in the celestial regions. This sea, or river of fire - mare ignis - is mentioned in 27B, and the images used here refer to it. When one has been exposed to the dangers of this fiery river, then heaven becomes the "port of life" (lines 6-7).

Lines 3-6. The image is an excellent one for symbolising the spiritual state of these people. For their good they are given an hour's respite, for their evil they receive an hour's torment.

Line 6: comthrom a maith ocus a n-olc. The ancient idea of a *ψυχοστασία* is still present. The judgment is a process of weighing. The idea probably comes from Egypt. In Apocalyptic literature, it appears for the first time, so far as I know, in the Testament of Abraham: During the

κρίσις καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις which Abraham witnesses one soul is set in the middle, and Abraham, having inquired about the fate of this soul receives the following answer:

Ἀκουσον, δίκαιε Ἀβραάμ· διότι εὗρεν ὁ κριτὴς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐξ ἴσου, καὶ οὔτε εἰς κρίσιν ἐξέδοτο αὐτὴν οὔτε εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ κριτὴς τῶν ἀπάντων.

(ed. James, TS, II. 2, p. 93).

This is the situation of the souls in sect. 24.

It is rather strange that there is no mention of the help that these souls might derive from the prayers of the faithful on earth. The belief in the power of such intercession was widespread in the Irish church, and later came to play a dominant part in western apocalyptic.

That souls could be delivered from hell was a common belief in pre-Gregorian times. The idea remained in the Irish Church until relatively late. Seymour, in IVO has gathered much material (see esp. pp.40-44) to illustrate this belief. It would be superfluous to repeat it here.

If these souls possess an equal weight of good and evil, this fact must have been determined by some sort of judgment. I am inclined to believe that originally they were judged before crossing the bridge and probably constituted

the group called (c) above (sect. 22, lines 1-12). In keeping with the individual judgment of the souls in section 19, the earlier bridge-judgment had to be suppressed. It is another example of the partial adaptations the author made in his material.

A scene similar to the one here used is also found in VMA. While going through hell, Mary says: Et ibi vidi planitiem nil habens lucis, et flumen ignis illam implebat. Et interrogavi filium meum et dixi: "Quaenam est significatio istius fluminis, et quoniam sunt sedentes prope istud?" Respondit mihi et dixit: "Eorum qui non omnino frigidi nec omnino calidi sunt." (ed. Chaine, p. 61). Unfortunately, VMA does not detail their punishment, nor speak of their ultimate fate. Another variety of this (temporal) punishment was to have the sinners immersed to various depths in the fiery river. This form is found in VPL:

"Et vidi illic fluvium ignis ferventem, et ingressus multitudo virorum et mulierum dimersus usque ad ienua et alios viros usque ad umbilicum, alios usque ad labia, alios autem usque ad capillos; et interrogavi angelum et dixi: Domine, qui sunt isti in flumine igneo? Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Neque calidi neque frigidi sunt, quia neque in numero iustorum inventi sunt neque in numero impiorum. Isti enim impenderunt tempus vitae suae in terris dies aliquos facientes

in oracionibus, alios vero dies in peccatis et fornicacionibus usque ad mortem. (ed. James, T & S, II. 3, p. 28).

25.

Atat dano drem mór aile and hi comfocus
dond lucht sin ocus is adbul a pian. Is anlaíd
iarom atát i cumriuch fri colomna tentide.

Muir tened impu connice a smeoha. Slabrada

tentide imma medón fo deilb natrach. Lassait 5

a ngnússi osin péin. Is iat iarom filet isin

phéin sin: peodaig ocus fingalaig ocus áes

admillte eacailse Dé ocus aircinnig etrócair

bíte ós inchaib martra na nnáeb for danaib ocus

dechmadaib na hecailsi, ocus dogníat dona ind- 10

masaib selba sainrudcha sech aigedu ocus aidlio-

nechu in Comded.

There is another large crowd in the vi-
cinity of those people, and vast is their tor-
ment. It is thus that they are: bound to fiery
pillars. There is a wall of fire about them
reaching up to their chins. Fiery chains in the
form of snakes are around their waists. Their
faces are blazing from the torment. Those who
are in this torment are sinners, i.e. slayers of
kinsmen, destroyers of the church of God, merci-
less Krenachs who are in the presence of the
relics of the saints, in charge of the gifts and

tithes of the church, and who make personal possessions of this wealth rather than use it for the guests and the needy of the Lord.

Line 1. This is the second group of those in hell. Those constituting the group are apparently destined to remain there eternally, like the sinners of sections 26, 27A, 28, 29A. Like the "intermedii" of sect. 24 are those protected by their alms (sect. 27B), who will go to the "port of life" after judgment.

Lines 2-6. The torments are described as though each soul suffered the three at the same time. They were probably separate torments originally, but have been combined, either to make the effect more horrible, or possibly because the relationship of the crime to the punishment was not understood. This practice of combining is especially noticeable in sections 26 and 27A where some ten forms of torture are enumerated, but only the last three are spoken of as belonging to distinct categories. The entire hell section of FA bears evidence of having been shortened and revised, often to such an extent that it is impossible to re-establish the proper relationship between the punishment and those punished. The torture described here

is ultimately derived from the penalty of burning alive. It may have originated from the practice of burning criminals, or from the tortures to which the martyrs were subjected. The "wall of fire" is the flame which nearly smothers the victim. The chains of fire are said to be in the "form of snakes". Here two motifs have crossed: the quite obvious image of the chains binding the victim, and the image of one caught in the coils of a great serpent. Perhaps all the author wished to say was that the victims are "bound about the waist with snake-like chains". On the other hand, snakes as the binders to the column may be meant, somewhat like the way in which the Vatican epitome of Apollodorus speaks of those bound in the chain of Lethe: *σπείραις δρακόντων κατείχοντο* . (ed. Wagner, VI, 3, p.58).

Lines 6-12. Those who are punished can be classed as homicides and the sacrilegious (*ἀνδρόφονοι* & *ιερόσυλοι*). The word "fingalaig" has been variously rendered. WS translated "parricides", Boswell has "fratricides". Windisch, Worterbuch 550 s.v. Fin-galach, gives O'Donovan's definition: "one who has killed a tribesman". I have translated "slayers of kinsmen" in an attempt to include all the possibilities.

There are two types of *ιερόσυλοι* : 1. The "aes admillte ecailse De", lit. "folk who destroy the churches of God". This is capable of two interpretations: (a): a literal one = Plunderers of Churches, i.e. *ιερόσυλοι* in the precise meaning of the word; (b): It may = *οἱ διώξαντες τοὺς δίκαιους* of APA (ed. Diet. p. 6). 2. *airohinnig etrocair*. "Merciless Erenachs". An erenach is a manager of church property. The title was applied not only to a mansionarius who took care of the lands of a particular church, but also to the sacrista, who was in charge of the sacred vessels and other objects constituting the treasury of a church. As described in sect. 25, these Erenachs are guilty of two crimes: they appropriate church-property to their own use; they neglect to care for the poor. In this second respect they are like *οἱ πλουτοῦντες, καὶ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες, καὶ μὴ ἐλεήσαντες ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας* of APA (ed. Diet. p. 8) or like those in Virgil: *aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis nec partem posuere suis* (Aen. VI. 610).

There does not seem to be any logical system involved in associating the *ιερόσυλοι* and the *φονεῖς* in the same type of punishment. We would expect a separate type

of punishment for each type of sinner. The listing of punishments and sinners seems rather haphazard throughout the H-section.

The inclusion of the aircinnig etrocair shows that this section was adapted to portray abuses peculiar to Celtic church practices. Yet these Krenachs are the only class of sinners who must be referred to a distinctly Celtic milieu. All the other types of sinners mentioned throughout FA have their parallels in early Christian moral and didactic treatises as well as apocalyptic.

26. Atát dano and slóig móra ina sesam
do gréss i llathaachaib círdubaib connice a
cressa. Cochaill gerra aigretu impu. Ní
anat ocus ní thairiset tría bithu, acht na
cressa oca loscod eter úacht ocus tess. 5
Slúaig demna na mórthimchiull ocus pluic
thentide ina llámaib oca mbúalad ina cend
ocus siat ió sírthaora fríu. A n-aigthe uile
na trúaig fothúaid ocus gáeth garb goirt ina
fíretan maróen ri cach n-olc. Frassa derga 10
tentide oc ferthain forru cach n-aidche ocus
cach láí, ocus ní ohumgat a n-íngábail, acht
a fulang tría bithu sír oc coí ocus ió dogra.

27A. Araile díb ocus srúama tened i tollaib
a ngnússe. Arailli oluí thened tríana tengthaib. 15
Araile tríana cendnaib dianechtair. Is iat
iarom filet isin phéin sin .i. gataige ocus
ethgig ocus áes braith ocus éonaig ocus sla-
taige ocus crochaire ocus brethemain gú-
brethaig ocus áes cosnoma, mná auptacha ocus 20
cánti, aithdibergaig ocus fir léigind pridchait
eris.

There are other large groups there standing eternally in jet-black mud up to their waists. Short icy hoods are upon them. They do not rest nor do they pause for eternity, but that the girdles are burning them with cold and heat. Throngs of demons are around them, beating them on the head with the fiery clubs (which they hold) in their hands, and carrying on long arguments with them. All these groups have their faces turned to the North and a rough, bitter wind blows full in their faces, in addition to their other sufferings. Fiery red rains pour down upon them every night and every day, and they cannot avoid them, but must endure them eternally with weeping and groaning.

Some of them have streams of fire in the holes of their faces. Others have nails of fire through their tongues. Others still have nails of fire through their heads from one side to the other. These are the ones who are in this torment: thieves, liars, traitors, slanderers, robbers, plunderers, judges who give false judgments, contenders, witches, female satirists, bandits and men of learning who preach heresy.

Lines 1-2. We are here introduced to another τόπος κολάσεως the sea or lake of filth (mud, mire) called λίμνη μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου in APA. (Dieterich, p. 4). We thus have in FA the two classical lakes of the underworld the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός and the λίμνη βορβόρου. In origin the mud or filth mentioned here may be the same as the βόρβορος, σκῶρ αἰνῶν in Aristophanes' Frogs (Dindorf, 146). APA gives three descriptions of such filth-filled places of torment: 1. λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγομένου; 2. τόπον τεθλιμμένον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἰχὼρ καὶ ἡ δυσωδία τῶν κολαζομένων κατέρρεε καὶ ὥσπερ λίμνη ἐγίνετο; 3. ἐν δὲ ἑτέρᾳ λίμνῃ μεγάλη καὶ πεπληρωμένη πύου καὶ αἵματος καὶ βορβόρου ἀναζέοντος.

(ed. Dieterich, pp. 4,6,8).

Standing in a pool of filth was, of course, a punishment for the impure. This application of the punishment has been lost sight of in FA.

Line 2: Cochaill gerra aigretu. Cochaill= cuculli i.e. short mantles extending over the shoulders and provided with a cowl. It was the garment of protection in cold, wet weather. Here it is the source of cold, a garment which provides that from which it was supposed to protect. Again, this would be

a fitting punishment for the sensual. This torture is quite cleverly thought out.

Lines 3-5. Ní anat ocus ní thairiset tria bithu, aocht na cressa oca loscod eter uacht ocus tess. The literal rendering in the translation above does not bring out the meaning too clearly. The Irish means that "their girdles (waists) are tormented ceaselessly with hot and cold".

The heat is provided by the burning pools of filth, the cold by the icy hoods and by the North wind (line 7).

Line 6: Sluaig demna. These *δαίμονες* with their fiery clubs are quite analogous to the *Ἐρινύες* with their *μάστιγες*. The beating on the head implies that those punished misused their intellects.

Cf. Inf. Canto xviii.34-36.

Di qua, di là, su per lo sasso tetro
Vidi Demon cornuti con gran forze
Che li battean crudelmente di retro.

Line 8: íc sirthacra friu. This is an especially hellish torment: the demons carry on a never-ending wrangling with the souls. In the source from which FAH is derived this torment must have been designed for the *aes cosnoma*, those whom Paul speaks of in Romans I. 29 as *repletos contentione* (*μεστοὶ ἐρίδος*). The principle is that so frequently

used by Dante: the punishment for the crime consists in the eternal continuance of that crime for the criminal. The contentious spend eternity wrangling with demons. What a pity that the author of Adamnan should have spoiled the parallelism between the crime and its punishment if his source contained such well-thought out devices of torture.

Lines 8-10. This wind is a trace of the "cold hell". Punishment by extremes of cold is found frequently in descriptions of hell, and needs no illustrations.

Lines 10-11: Frassa derga tentide. For the fiery rain the following passages may be used for comparison.

- a. Gen. xix. 24: Igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorrham sulphur et ignem a Domino de caelo.
- b. Luc. xvii. 29: Qua die autem exiit Lot a Sodomis, pluit ignem et sulphur de caelo, et omnes perdidit.
- c. Ps. X.7: Pluet super peccatores laqueos; ignis et sulphur, et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum.

Commenting on the words: Ignis et sulphur et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum, Augustine writes: Haec poena eorum est atque exitus, per quos blasphematur nomen Dei, ut primo cupiditatum suarum igne vastentur, deinde malorum operum putore a coetu beatorum abjiciantur postremo abrepti atque submersi, ineffabiles poenas luant. (Enarratio

in Ps. X, ed. Benedict. Opera, IV. 91).

Dante used the fiery shower as a punishment for the violent against God, nature, and art. His interpretation is therefore close to that of Augustine. The passage in Inf. xiv. 28:-

Sopra tutto il sabbion d'un cader lento
Pioven di foco dilatate falde,
Come di neve in alpe senza vento.

The adjective "derga" red, applied to the rain may be due to its fiery nature, or, it may symbolise the blood shed by the violent.

Lines 14-15: sruama toned i tollaib a ngnusse. The symbolism is quite simple: the senses concerned are those of sight, hearing, smell, taste. With the last, speech is also associated. Thus in ΑΡΛ we read: . . . ἄλλοι πάλιν ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν μασώμενοι, καὶ πῦρ φλεγομένον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στόματι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ψευδομάρτυρες (ed. Dieterich, p. 8).

For sins of hearing there is a parallel punishment in the Apoc. Esdrae: καὶ ἶδον ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους χειραίους, καὶ στροφίγγες πυρώμενοι εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν στρεφόμενοι . . . οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κροαταί. For the eyes of. ΑΡΛ: . . . γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες μασώμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ χεῖλη καὶ κολαζόμενοι καὶ πε-

πυρωμένον σίδηρον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνοντες.
(Dieterich, p. 6).

Line 15: clui thened triana tenthai b. A variety of this punishment was hanging by the tongue. Cf. APA: καὶ τινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης πρεμάμενοι· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βλασφημοῦντες This application of the 'lex talionis' also applies to those who have nails driven through their head (line 13). Those who sin by the tongue have their tongues tormented, those misusing the intellect have their brains pierced through. Such barbarous forms of punishment may very likely be derived from actual punishments applied to criminals. The general principle behind all such punishments is clearly stated by Cicero: Noxiae poena par esto, ut in suo vitio quisque plectatur: vis capite, avaritia multa, honoris cupiditas ignominia sancitur (de leg. iii. 20). Driving a nail through the head reminds one of the way Jael dealt with Sisera: Tulit itaque Jael, uxor Haber, clavum tabernaculi, assumens pariter et malleum; et ingressa abscondite, et cum silentio, posuit supra tempus capitis ejus clavum, percussumque malleo defixit in cerebrum usque ad terram; . . . (Jud. IV. 21).

Lines 16-22. FA gives twelve categories of sinners punished by these torments. As mentioned above, the source for FAH

probably had each crime paired off with its proper penalty. Though this relationship between crime and punishment has been marred in the present text, it is still possible to re-establish the original relationship in most instances.

Some of the categories mentioned in FA overlap, i.e. for all practical purposes the terms are nearly synonymous. Thus gataige, slataige, crechaire, aithdibergaig may be classed as κλέπτει and ἄρπαγες. Under the title ψευδάμενοι may be included ethgig, brethemain gub-rethaig, fir legind pridchait eris, ecnaig, and perhaps mna aupthacha and canti. The aes braith, the προδόται, make a class by themselves as do the aes cosnoma.

The various terms applied to those who attack the property of others probably reflect distinctions derived from legal codes. The term aithibergaig, "lapsed bandits" may be such a technical term, implying that those in this category (recidivi) are more severely dealt with than the ordinary bandits.

Though the terminology used gives the section a peculiarly Irish tone and doubtlessly reflects social and moral conditions of the author's age, all the classes have parallels in early Christian literature. This may be seen quite easily by referring to the comparative table of sins found on pages 174-177 of Dieterich's Nekyia. This

fact is adduced to show the possibility of borrowing from early apocalyptic literature.

The fer legind deserve some special comment. WS ("Adamnan's Vision", Fraser's Mag. 1871, p. 191) explained the term as equivalent to the ἀναγνώστης (lector) of the Greek and Latin churches. In the Syriac Apoc. Pauli, "a reader and teacher" is mentioned in hell (see Apoc. Pauli, ed. Tischendorff, p. 59, note to line 36), but it is not said that he preached heresy. In the Irish monastic system the term Fer Legind began to replace the title scriba at the end of the ninth century. The fer legind was in charge of the intellectual activities of the monastery, a sort of chief lecturer and director of studies. Such a position would have given a fer legind ample opportunity to preach heresy. For more information see SEHI, pp. 11-12 (esp. footnotes 13 and 17) and p. 18.

27B.

Atát drong mór aile i n-insib i mmedón
 in mara tened. Mur argdidi impu día n-éstaigib
 ocus día n-aimsanaib. Fairend trá sin dogníat.
 trócaire cen dichill ocus biit araíde i llaxai
 ocus i tétí a collai co orích a mbáis, ocus nos 5
 cobrat a n-aimsana i mmedón in mara tened co
 bráth, ocus fóiditir do phurt bethad iar mbráth.

There is another large crowd on islands
 in the midst of the sea of fire. There is a
 silver wall about them made from their gar-
 ments and from their alms. They are the peo-
 ple who practise charity without neglect, but
 who, on the other hand, remain in laxity and
 in the luxury of their flesh until the point of
 death, and their alms protect them in the midst
 of the sea of fire and after the judgment they
 are sent unto the harbour of life.

Lines 1-7. drong mor aile. With this group should be
 compared those of sect. 24. These are the two classes who
 will ultimately be delivered from hell. The group in 27B
 are well described: they are the generous and kindly, but

are tainted with the self-indulgence which so often characterises people of this type. They fail to practise penance, they remain relatively indifferent. Their one positive quality is the practice of the corporal works of mercy. It is also implied that they did repent at the moment of death - otherwise they would be damned eternally.

The salutary effect of alms-giving is a widespread religious belief. For examples of this doctrine one may consult the numerous references given s.v. *eleemosyna* in the Indices to Migne's Patrologia. The giving of alms was a way of acquiring the forgiveness of sins. This is probably the meaning to be derived from the words of Ephraim (Syriac): *ὦ πόσων δακρύων χρήσομεν διὰ τὴν ἑώραν ἐκείνην ἣν ἀμελοῦμεν, διὰ γὰρ τῶν δακρύων καὶ ἐλεημοσύνων δυνάμεθα ἐξαλεῖψαι τὰ γεγραμμένα . . .* (op. Graeco, II, 215). Likewise Clement of Alexandria, in Quis Dives Salvatur, comm. on 2 Cor. ix. 7: *ἰλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεὸς* , writes: *ὦ καλῆς ἐμπορίας · ὦ θείας ἀγορᾶς · ὧν εἶται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ δοὺς τὰ διολλύμενα τοῦ κόσμου μονὴν τούτων αἰώνιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνει* (ed. Barnard, TS, V.2. p.24). The same teaching is found in the Qur'an, sura 29,6 and sura 61.12.

The "wall of silver" represents the money given in alms. Symbolically, the alms become an imperishable garment

of protection from the sea of fire: charity covereth a multitude of sins. Nevertheless it should be remarked that these souls do suffer in a way: they must wait until the general judgment before going to the "harbour of life".

28.

Atát dano sochaide mór aile and ocus
 cassla derga tentide impu co lár. Rocluinter
 a crith ocus a nggair fón firmimint. Drong
 discrútain do demnaib oca formúchad ocus coin
 brena lethoma leo ina llámaib oca n-furáil 5
 foraib día tomait ocus día cathim. Rotha
 derga tentide for sírlasad imma mbrágtib.
 Bertair súas co firmimint each ra n-úair. Tel-
 oiter síis i fudamain iffirnd in n-uair aile.
 (Noidin tra ocus maccoim io a n-athcuma ocus 10
 ca letrad do gres di ceoh aird.) Is iat iarom
 filet isin phóin sin: áes gráid tarmi-deocetár
 a ngráda, ocus fúatheraibdig, ocus bréaire
 brécalt ocus sáebait na sluagu ocus gabait
 forro ferta ocus mírbaile nách fétat do dénam 15
 dóib. Is iat immórro na naídin filet oca n-
 athchuma inn áesa graid .i. it é sin in lucht
 ro herbad dóib do lessugud, ocus ní ros lesaig-
 set ocus ní ros cairgetár imó peodaib.

Moreover, there is another large group
 there, having about them cloaks extending to
 the ground. Their lamenting and crying are
 heard throughout the firmament. An incalculable

Line 2. cassla derga tentide. The cloaks probably symbolise the religious habit. It was worn hypocritically and thus becomes the instrument of torture. Several interesting parallels to the fiery cloaks may be cited.

- a. Qur an, Sura xxii. 20-22: ". . . but those who misbelieve, for them are cut out garments of fire, there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved, and their skins too, and for them are maces of iron. Whenever they desire to come forth therefrom through pain, they are sent back into it: 'And taste ye the torment of the burning!'" Note here the piling up of torments, as in FA.

- b. Solarljod 16:

Men sa ek þa
er af miki-laeti
virduz vonum framar;
klaepi þeirra
varu kymiliga
elldi um-slegin. (SSE, 16).

Here the fiery garment is the punishment of pride.

- c. Dante, Inf. xxvi. Those in the eighth bolgia are wrapped in a garment of flame:

E il Duca, che mi vide tanto atteso,
Disse: "Dentro cà' fochi son gli spiriti
Ciascun si fascia di quel ch'egli e inceso
(46-48)

This is the punishment of those who gave evil-counsel. To be compared with this is the punishment of the hypocrites in the sixth bolgia:

Laggiu trovammo una gente dipinta,
Che giva intorno assai con lenti passi
Piangendo, e nel sembiante stanca e vinta

Line 2. cassla derga tentide. The cloaks probably symbolise the religious habit. It was worn hypocritically and thus becomes the instrument of torture. Several interesting parallels to the fiery cloaks may be cited.

- a. Qur an, Sura xxii. 20-22: ". . . but those who misbelieve, for them are cut out garments of fire, there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved, and their skins too, and for them are maces of iron. Whenever they desire to come forth therefrom through pain, they are sent back into it: 'And taste ye the torment of the burning!'" Note here the piling up of torments, as in FA.

- b. Solarljod 16:

Men sa ek þa
er af miki-laeti
virduz vonum framar;
klaepi þeirra
varu kymiliga
elldi um-slegin. (SSE, 16).

Here the fiery garment is the punishment of pride.

- c. Dante, Inf. xxvi. Those in the eighth bolgia are wrapped in a garment of flame:

E il Duca, che mi vide tanto atteso,
Disse: "Dentro d'a' fochi son gli spiriti
Ciascun si fascia di quel ch'egli e inceso
(46-48)

This is the punishment of those who gave evil-counsel. To be compared with this is the punishment of the hypocrites in the sixth bolgia:

Laggiu trovammo una gente dipinta,
Che giva intorno assai con lenti passi
Piangendo, e nel sembiante stanca e vinta

Egli avean cappe con cappucci bassi
 Dinanzi agli occhi, fatti della taglia
 Che in Cologna per li monaci fassi.
 (Inf. xxiii (58-63))

These cloaks were gilded, but made of lead; the garment hypocritically worn becomes the punishment. Make them fiery and the result is the same image as in FA. Cf. Juvenal's expression (viii:235): *tunica punire molesta*.

Lines 4-5: *Coin brena lethoma*. I know of no exact parallel to these dogs in Christian apocalyptic. These mangy, stinking beasts are but a variety of the *σκῶληκες* which play a role in nearly every vision of hell. Dogs are mentioned in BAV (Chapter 1 xxvi, Haug, p. 193): "I also saw the souls of women who ever, lacerated their own breasts with their own hands and teeth; and dogs ever tore and ate their bellies; . . ." Cf. BAV xlviii: "I also saw the soul of a man whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly and thighs of the man". (Haug. 181). The image in FA may have been derived from the practice of using dogs in animal baiting.

Lines 6-7: *rotha derga tentide*. *Rotha* may be a plural of *roth*, wheel; or of *ruth*, chain, link. Either interpretation gives a good image: these people are wearing fiery collars. I am inclined to think that the author was thinking of the

custom of placing iron rings about the necks of insubmissive slaves. The "iron-collar" was well known as a punishment in medieval times, and lasted well into the period of the reformation. There is such an instrument of torture at Duddingston Kirk (Edinburgh). In a ballad preserved in Ritson's Ancient Songs there is one ("The Dead Man's Song") in which a damned soul is described as follows:

About his necke were fiery ruffs,
That flam'd on every side;
I askt, and lo the young man said
That he was damn'd for pride.

Lines 8-9: Bertair suas Telciter sis. This is a very graphic way of portraying the meaning of "qui se exaltat humiliabitur".

Lines 10-11. These children and youths who suffered from the neglect of their preceptors express by their violence the hatred they have for those who were at least partly responsible for their damnation. Those who failed to chastise them are thus made to suffer in a twofold manner: they see their victims (as reminders of their negligence) and are victimised by them. It is another cleverly conceived application of the lex talionis. The motif is found in various forms in apocalyptic literature. APA contains the following interesting parallel: καὶ κεῖ ἐκάθηντο ἡυνάϊκες ἔχουσαι τὸν ἰχῶρα

μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων καὶ ἀντικρὺς αὐτῶν πολλοὶ παῖδες,
οἵτινες ἄωροι ἐτίκτοντο, καθήμενοι ἐκλαιον. καὶ προ-
ήρχοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀκτῖνες πυρὸς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἐπλήσσον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

(ed. Dieterich, p. 6).

Lines 11-16. Those punished represent various abuses existing among clerics (those in orders). At least this can be said for three classes:

- a. Those who transgress their vows.
- b. Those who claim to be able to work miracles (Simon Magus-type) and who deceive many.
- c. Those who neglect the duty of instructing their charges.

The word fuathoraibdig is of uncertain meaning. It may be rendered by "haters of piety", "hypocrites", "apostates". Any one of these meanings will fit the context, but "apostates" is probably the meaning intended here.

This section contains perhaps the most effectively described forms of punishment. All the devices used correspond with the sins involved in a striking way. The children who tear and wound the clerics may have come from a reworking of the same motif in APA (quoted above). In the APA-passage it was the neglect of physical parenthood which was punished; In FA it is the neglect of spiritual parenthood which is punished.

29A.

Atat dano drem dermár aile and sair
 síar doib cen tairisem darna lecaib tentidib
 oo cathugud fri slúagaib na ndemna. At lir
 turim thrá frassa na saiget for dérglassad
 dóib ona demnaib. Tíagait inna rith cen tur- 5
 bród cen tairsem co rochet dublocha oous dub-
 aibne do bádu na saiget sin intib. At tod-
 íuri thrá oous at trúaga na gáre oous na
 golgaire doníat in pheocdaig isna uscib sin,
 ar is tormach péne ros tá dóib. Is iat trá 10
 filet isin phéin sin: cerdda oous círmair
 oous cennaige esinraice, brethemain gúbretaig
 na n-Íudaide oous caich archena, oous rí
 eoraibdig, aorchinnig clain at e colaig, mná
 adaltracha, oous techtaire nos millet ina mí- 15
 gnímaib.

There is another large group there
 moving ceaselessly from East to West across
 fiery stones, warring with hosts of demons.
 Numerous showers of flaming red arrows are
 shot at them by the demons. They go along
 running, without interruption or pause, till
 they reach black lakes and black rivers in order

to quench those arrows therein. The cries and laments which the sinners make in those waters are miserable and piteous indeed, for it is an increase of pain which meets them there. Those who are in this torment are: unjust craftsmen, fullers and merchants; falsely-judging judges, both of the Jews and every other sort; impious kings, perverted Erenachs who are lustful; adulterous women and the panders who ruin them in their evil deeds.

Lines 1-3. A variation on the same theme is found in APA:

*καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τόπῳ χάλικες ἦσαν ὀξύτεροι
 ξιφῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀβελίσκου, πεπυρωμένοι, καὶ
 γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρὰ ἐνδεδυμένοι
 ἐκυλίωντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν (ed. Dieterich, p. 8).*

A similar form of torture is found in Dadistan-i Dinik, **xxii.8**: "And the unpleasantness of his path to hell is in similitude such as the worldly one in the midst of that stinking and dying existence, there where numbers of the sharp-pointed darts are planted out inverted and point upwards, and they come unwillingly running; they shall not allow them to stay behind, or to make delay". (transl.

West, SBE, Vol. xviii, part II, p. 49). Here again is an obvious reference to a form of punishment in actual use when *Dadistan-i Dinik* was written.

Lines 3-5. There is war in this hell, and the demons use the *tela ignea* mentioned by Paul (ad Eph. vi. 16). It would seem as though the author had in mind the *colluctatio adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum* (1b.12) and wanted to show the counterpart of this battle in progress in hell. The helplessness of the sinners is a vivid picture of the plight of those who failed during their life to take on the *armaturam Dei* (1b.13).

Lines 5-7. There is no escape from torment, only the appearance of an escape. The black pools are burning too, and only serve to increase the pain. This group of sinners is subjected to constant torment, running ceaselessly, helplessly battling against the demons, plunging into the filthy pools which increase their laments. This punishment is very well described, and the helplessness of those punished fits in well with the nature of their crime, for they consist mainly of those who took unfair advantage of the helpless when living.

Lines 11-12: *cerdda ocus cirmaire ocus oennaige esinraice*. These sin against social justice by falsifying. The author

probably had in mind many evils which exist today: craftsmen who exact exorbitant sums for their work, manufacturers of shoddy, merchants who falsify their products in quality or weight. The author of FA here gives us an interesting picture of what may well be a reflection of his own times.

Lines 12-13: brethemain gubrethaig. The unjust judges of the Jews are probably Annas and Caiphas. The author extends his term to include all types of wicked judges.

Lines 13-14: rig eoraibdig. The rex iniquus is too common a theme in western moral and didactic writings since saec. x to require comment. For a detailed treatment one may read the De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi.

Line 14: aerchinnig clain at e colaig. LB reads airchin- dig chloincholsig, CCC has airchindig claenai colacha, P gives arcinnigh chlaona atet colaigh. All readings give the same meaning: perverted lustful Erenachs. For the office of Erenach see sect. 25, notes to lines 5-10. The office of Erenach must have presented opportunities for rather diverse forms of abuse, and these abuses must have been an especially pernicious element in the church life of the time of the author, for he has mentioned the Erenachs twice, giving different aspects of their crimes. The relating of lust to Erenachs in

particular seems so strange that one might be inclined to think that the author had a particular man in mind. It is interesting to note that this is the only instance of carnal vice occurring in FAH. Abortion, infanticide, vitium sodomiticum, etc., are nowhere mentioned, though all play a role in apocalyptic from APA on. Whenever in his writing the author departs from the traditional types of sinners he attacks ecclesiastics of some kind. Cf. his treatment of the aes graid in sect. 28 (lines 9-15), and the fir legind of section 26.

Lines 14-16. Boswell translates "adulterous women, and the panders that destroyed them by their evil practices". WS gives "adulterous wives, and messengers who ruin them in their misdeeds". Vendryes, translating P gives: "les femmes adulteres, les intendants qui se ruinent par la mauvaise conduite". Boswell's translation is probably the most accurate.

All the types mentioned above can be classified under one heading: injustice. The author gives us an example of A. commercial injustice, b. political injustice, c. injustice against the family.

29B.

Attá dano múr tened fri tír inna pían
 anall, adúathmairiu ocus acairbiu hé fo secht
 andá tír na pían fessin. Acht chena ní aitt-
 rebat anmand co bráth ar is la demnaib a n-
 oenur a airichas co lathe mbratha.

5

On the far side of the land of the tor-
 ments there is a wall of fire which is seven
 times more fearful and more severe than the
 land of torments itself. However, souls do
 not dwell in it until the judgment, for, until
 the day of judgment it is the dominion of the
 demons only.

Lines 1-5. The previously described punishments do not
 take place in the hell of eternity: no souls go there
 until after the general judgment. This fire is at present
 the abode of demons. It is a most important section of
 the vision, for it implies that the punishments heretofore
 described are temporal - they take place in a kind of locus
 intermedius, a fore-hell. Eternal damnation begins only
 after the judgment, and the pains of the state of eternal
 damnation are seven times more severe.

This distinction of places of torment makes it easier to understand why souls could be released from hell: hell, in an absolute and eternal sense did not exist for the damned until after the general judgment. Hence a possibility of release, and the possibility of hope in hell (i.e. in the fore-hell).

This state of things is consistent with the general tone of the entire vision. The state of things revealed to the seer is transient: the saints have not reached the state of ultimate bliss, nor have the reprobate gone into the wall of eternal fire. What Adamnan sees is a *conditio pro tempore*. Only after the judgment is the final condition of the blessed and the damned determined. See the remarks on this section in the Introduction, p. 26-27.

30.

Mairg thrá fil isna píanaib sin in
 comaittreb muintire Díabail. Mairg nad foich-
 lend in muintir sin. Mairg forsa mbía do
 thigernu demon dísoir dairmitnech. Mairg
 bias oo estecht fri guba ocus fri guba ocus 5
 fri golgaire na n-anmand oo tróge ocus oo
 neméle frisin Comdid im torachtain chuou
 laithe mbrátha oo llúath dús in fugebtaís
 nach n-etarúarad isind fúgiull, ar ní fagbat
 nach ousanad oo brath acht trí úara cach 10
 donnaig. Mairg dia mba dognas díles in ferand
 sin tria bithu sir, ar is amlaid atá: slebe
 tolla delgnecha and, maige loma dano, is íat
 loisothecha ocus locha bréna bíastaide. Talam
 garb ganmide iss e urcrom aigreta. Lecca leth- 15
 na tentide for a lár. Mara móra oo n-ainbthinib
 adhúathmaraib ina mbí aidde ocus aittreb Díabail
 do grés. Cethri sroth dermára dara lár: sruth
 tened, sruth snechtaide, sruth néinthe, sruth
 usoi duib dorchai. Is intib sin nos fotraicet 20
 slúalg digair na ndemna a haithle a n-oenaig
 ocus a n-aniusa oo píanad na n-anmand.

Woe unto him who is in those torments,

in cohabitation with the family of the devil. Woe unto him who does not protect himself against that family. Woe unto him who shall have as his lord a violent, despicable, demon. Woe unto him who shall be listening to the cries and loud laments of the souls as they groan and beseech the Lord to bring quickly for them the day of judgment, so they may find out if they will receive any respite in the judgment, for, until the judgment, they do not get any rest except three hours every Sunday. Woe unto him for whom this region is eternally his proper habitat. This is how it is: pierced, thorny mountains are there, bare parched plains, and stinking lakes full of beasts, rough and sandy earth, exceedingly uneven and icy. Upon its surface are broad fiery stones. Great seas with very fearful storms on them are there. In those seas is the home and dwelling of the Devil for ever. Four very large rivers extend over its surface: a river of fire, a river of snow, a river of poison, and a river of dark, black water. The vehement throngs of demons bathe themselves in these streams after their carnival and sport

(consisting in) the tormenting of the souls.

This section has a marked homiletic tone and is quite different from the other sections of FAH. It presents a list of horrors which are sometimes at variance with the descriptions which have gone before. The "horrors of hell" was a standard theme in homiletic. LB gives this passage in a much expanded form. The LB version of section 30 is quoted below in full to illustrate the type of homiletic rhetoric indulged in when word-play, especially with alliterating phrases, became a popular device.

Lines 7-8: im torachtain chucu laithe mbratha co lluath. There is hope in hell. The idea is consistent with 24, 27B and 29B: no ultimate state has been reached yet. These passages are another testimony to the importance attached to the Day of Doom. They should be compared with Soela Lai Bratha and Soela Na Esergi.

Lines 10-11: tri uara each donnaig. The respite of the damned occurs quite frequently in such visions. The respite is usually granted because of the intercession of some saintly visitor. Thus we find in APG: $\nu\theta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \Gamma\alpha\beta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$

τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς δικαιοσύνης μου, καὶ διὰ Παῦλον
τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου, δίδωμι ὑμῖν νύκταν καὶ τὴν ἡμέ-
ραν τῆς εἰρίας κυριακῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἠγέρθην ἐκ νεκρῶν, εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν.

(Tischendorff, Apoc. Apocr., p. 63). Cf. VMA: Et (ego
Maria) Allocuta sum filium meum et dixi: Parce mea causa,
dilecte mi, parce; nullus homo est sine peccato. Res-
pondit filius meus et dixit: Misericors ero tibi a vespor-
is feriae sextae usque ad matutinum feriae secundae. Et
cum haec audivissem, gratias egi filio meo, et damnati etiam
laudibus eum celebrarunt (transl. Chaine, p. 68). More
information for the study of this interesting motif can be
found in: Seb. Merkle, "Die Sabbatruhe in der Hölle,"
Römische Quartalschrift, ix (1895): 484-509; H.F. Baum,
"The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot," PMLA, xxxi (1916):
481-632, and Idem, "Judas' Sunday Rest," MLR, xviii (1923):
168-182.

Line 18: Cethri srotha dermara. The author managed to
include four rivers, but they are quite different from the
rivers of the classical Underworld, Acheron, Styx, Phlego-
thon, Cocytus, at least in so far as the river of snow and
the river of poison are concerned. These four rivers were
probably invented to counterbalance the four rivers of Para-
dise.

Lines 21-22: a n-oenaig ocus a n-anlusa oc planad na

n-anmand. There is fun and merrymaking in hell, a truly diabolical entertainment. The bathing in such rivers probably renews the diabolical qualities of the demons, just as the angels bathe in the Nehar di-Hur to renew their brightness and purity. The festival of torment which provides delight for the demons has a parallel in the Vision of Drythelm (HE, v.12):

Ut autem sonitus idem clarior redditus ad me usque pervenit, considero turbam malignorum spirituum, quae quinque animas hominum merentes heulantesque, ipsa multum exultans et cachinnans, medias illas trahebat in tenebras; . . . ut . . . fletum hominum et risum daemoniorum clare discernere nequirem, sonum tamen adhuc promiscuum in auribus haberem (Pl., p. 306).

It will be observed that Section 30 could be omitted without destroying the sequence of the text. Nevertheless, it is not to be regarded as a later interpolation. It is quite in keeping with the structure of the vision, which contains so many bits and fragments gathered from diverse sources and loosely joined together.

Below follows a translation of the same section as found in expanded form in LB:

Woe unto him who is in those pains, cohabiting with the family of the devil. Woe unto him who does not shun that family. Woe unto him who will have as lord the fierce, violent devil. Woe unto him who will have as lord a black, violent, coarse, . . . demon. Those (who are there) have loud weeping, and miserable, inescapable, heavy grief without pause, and eternal cold and hunger at the same time.

Woe unto him who will be listening to the sighs and laments of the souls, wailing and sorrowing unto the Lord to bring the day of judgment to them in haste, to see if they will receive any alleviation in the judgment, for they do not get any respite until the judgment, except three hours every Sunday.

Woe unto him who will have that land as his permanent inheritance throughout long ages.

Thus is that place: (there are) craggy, thorny mountains there; bare burnt plains; black, fiery glens; very rough, red hills; deep pools flowing with stench; great thorny bogs; fiery, slippery, sharp, pointed, razor-edged stones; fierce, parching, bitter, rough, and wintry winds; fiery red rains; eternally lasting snows; (something) bitter, rough, burning and cutting, darker than dark winter, colder than eternal snows, hotter than great fires, more bitter than poison.

Stinking lakes filled with beasts, and rough windy islands are there. And glowing hot pits, and rough sandy earth, slippery, causing one to fall, red and reddish, black, dark and smoky, rocky, hilly, ardently flaming, very crooked icy with frost, with hail like fiery stones.

Broad, fiery slabs are across the surface of that plain: they flame and burn, so that one of those slabs would burn up the whole world. Great poisonous seas, flowing with stench, with a rough storm upon them are there; fiery-crosted dragons, and other various beasts are in that sea. It has four different kinds of fire: a black, scorched, smoky fire; a red, darkling, springing-up, cutting, very bitter fire, a green, vast, sharp, bitter, razor-like fire; a ruddy, exceedingly sharp, and very large fire, with streams of poison.

There are very great mountains of fire there, with very large red, sharp-pointed, iron spikes in them, all being of the same thickness, denseness, sharpness and steepness. They have the dew of poison on the tip of each, so that the poison of each one of these spikes would drown and burn up the men of the whole earth.

And a great unanswerable troop of demons cry out about the unfortunate soul, and carry off the soul with them, into the depths of hell. They have fiery red whips in their

hands, and mangy, stinking dogs which they incite against the souls of the sinners, while beating them with those fiery whips, so that they cry out and shriek and scream and wail bitterly and sharply. The constellations, and the stars of heaven, and the firmament, and all creation are filled with the immense wail of lament which the souls of the sinners emit under the hands and the grasp of those un-killable enemies, viz, the devil and his rabble-host, and they take them with them thereafter into the fiery hills, and the black, dark, steep, immense, smoky glens, (into) dismal, mournful, changeful, lowest hell, over bare burning flagstones, over the various rivers of fire of which we have spoken.

For there are four very large rivers flowing over its surface: a stream of fire with red sides, an ever-muddy river of snow with icy slabs; a river of deadly poison; a river of black, dark, evil-tasting water. In these waters the vehement throngs of demons bathe themselves after their carnival and sport at tormenting souls.

(For the Irish text of the above passage, see Appendix III, pp. 311-313).

31A.

In tan trá canait slúraig nóema muintire
 nime claschetol comhubaid na n-ocht tráth co
 subach ocus co forbáelid ió molad in Chomded,
 is and sin ferait ind anmand nualla trúaga
 torsecha oca tuarcain cen tairisem la dron- 5
 gaib na ndemna. Is iat sin trá na píana ocus
 na todernama ro follsig aingel in choimtechta
 do anmain Adamnán iar tasonam flatha nime.

While the hosts of saints of the heaven-
 ly family sing with gladness and joy the harmon-
 ious choir-song of the eight hours, praising the
 Lord, then do the souls of the damned pour
 forth piteous and sad outcries as they are being
 interminably beaten by throngs of demons. These
 are the pains and torments which the guardian
 angel revealed to the soul of Adamnan after it
 had visited the kingdom of heaven.

Line 2. claschetol comhubaid na n-ocht trath. The
 singing of the divine office in heaven (replacing the tris-
 agion, due to monastic influence) has already been described
 in section 7. It is another example of the superficial unity

found throughout the vision.

Lines 3-6. The contrast is an effective one. In many of the older apocalypses the just see the damned and this circumstance provides occasion for developing the contrast.

Here the contrast has been introduced as another attempt to emphasise the unity of the text, for it contains references to the hell and heaven sections which have preceded. The beating of souls by the demons occurs in section 26.

Lines 6-8: Is iat sin . . . iar tasonam flatha nime.

This sentence would be more appropriate between 29A and 29B.

29A closes the enumeration of torments. This sentence indicates once more that the author was attempting to unify his material: the order of the vision is stressed again, and the seer's name is now mentioned for the first time since section 21A. The only other time Adamnan is mentioned by name during the course of the vision is in sect. 3A.

31B. Roucad iar sin ind anim la brafad súla
triasin n-erdam n-orda, agus triasin fíal
nglainide co tír inna náem. Is inti ceta-
rucadsi in tan conruloí a curp.

C. O ro gab iarom ceill for anad agus for 5
airiseom isin tír sin, atohúala ina díáid
triasin fíal guth ind aingil no forcongrad
furre co n-igsed ar cúlu doridisi cosin corp
cetna asar escomloí, agus coro innised i
ndálaib' agus airechtaib agus i comthinoltaib 10
láech agus clérech focraíoe nime agus píana
iffirnd feib ro follsig aingel in cóemtechta
di.

Thereafter the soul was carried in the
twinkling of an eye through the golden porch
and through the crystal veil to the land of the
saints. This is the first place to which it was
brought when it had left its body.

When it desired to stay and remain in
that land, it heard behind it, through the
veil, the voice of the angel who commanded it
to return back again unto the same body whence
it had departed, and to relate in assemblies

and meetings and congregations of laymen and clerics the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, as the guardian angel had revealed them to it.

Lines 1-3: The soul returns along the route it had previously gone. As mentioned above (sect. 21, comm. to line 4), the experience of the seer is likened to a voyage. After reaching the last stage of the trip, the traveller retraces his steps. The author has been very accurate in making the order of passing the golden porch and the crystal veil correspond with the description given in sect. 5B. It provides another argument for the unity of the text.

Lines 5-9. This desire to remain among the blessed is a fairly common motif in apocalyptic. The following examples will serve to illustrate it.

- a. The Vision of Drythelm. After returning to the "mansiones spirituum candidatorum", the angel says to Drythelm: Tu autem, quia nunc ad corpus reverti, et rursum inter homines vivere debes, si actus tuos curiosius discutere, et mores sermonesque tuos in rectitudine ac simplicitate servare studueris, accipies et ipse post mortem locum mansionis inter haec quae cernis, agmina laetabunda spirituum beatorum, Namque ego, cum ad tempus abscessissem a te, ad hoc feci, ut, quid de te, fieri deberet, agnoscerem. Drythelm, however, did not care to return: Haec

mihi cum, dixisset, multum detestatus sum reverti ad corpus, delectatus nimirum suavitatem ac decorem loci illius quem intuebar, simul et consortio eorum quos in illo videbam (Bede, HE, v.12,Pl.309).

- b. The Vision of Tondale closes with this conversation (French version, MS.L):

Lors s'approcha de li li angles et dist ensi: "As tu bien regarde toutes les choses?" L'ame respondi et dist: "Sire, oil, mais je te prie et requier que tu me laisses ici demorer". Lors dist l'angles a l'ame: "Tu ne pues ici demorer, car tu dois ariere retourner a ton cors, et tout ce que tu as veu en memoire retenir et raconter as gens qui vivent pour le pourfi de leurs ames." Lors fu l'ame triste et irie et se prist a plorer et dist: "Sire, pour coi me doi ie departir de si grand gloire et retourner a mon cors arieres?" L'angle respondi et dist: "En ceste gloire ne puet nulle ame demorer fors que les vierges te garde de faire ce que tu faisoies devant, et mon conseil et m'aide ne te faura pas, mais presentement serai avecques toi, et te consillera et aiderai bien et loiaument." (ed. Friedel, pp.56-57).

Lines 11-12. The order of the vision is again mentioned. Note here that the revelation is said to have been made by the guardian angel. The same expression (o ro foillsig thra aingel in choimtechta) is used in 21A. These passages together with 3B, imply that the angel guided Adamnan during the entire vision. He thus plays the same role as the Angelus in the Vision of Drythelm, he is an angel of accompaniment.

With section 31C, the vision ends. The next four sections contain some pseudo-historical matters, the story

of Elias and Enoch and a short parainetic peroration in 3H
Section 35 is a "laudatio civitatis dei" in the form of a
long congeries.

32.

Is é seo iarom forcetul no gnáthaiged
Adomnán dona slúagaib o sein immach céin buí
na bethaid. Is é dano no pridohad i mmórdail
fer nÉrend díaro fuirmed recht Adomnán for
Goedelaib, ocus díaro saertha na mna la Adom- 5
nan ocus la Fínnachta Fledach la rí nÉrend,
ocus la mathib Herend arohena.

Is é dano cétsceal no gnáthaiged Patraic
mac Calpuirnd: fochraice nime ocus píana iffirn 10
d'innisain donafib no chretitis in Comdid tríana
forcetul ocus no fáemtais a n-anmohardine dó la
turebail soscelai.

Is é dano forcetul ba menciú dogníá Petar
ocus Pol ocus na apstail arohena .i. píana ocus 15
focraice d'innisin ár ro faillsigthea dóib fón
cuma cétna.

Is é dano dorigní Silvester abb Róma do
Chonstantín mac Elena do ardrig in domain isin
mórdáil díaro édpair in Róim do Phól ocus do
Phetar. 20

Is é sea dano dorigní Fabian comarba Petair
do Philip mac Gordián, do rí Román díaro chreit
in Comdid ocus díaro chretset ilmíle aile in n-
úair sin, iss eside cétrí do Rómánchaib ro chreit

in slánicid Isu Crist.

25

This, then, is the teaching which Adamnan was accustomed to preach to the hosts from that time on as long as he lived. This is what he used to preach in the Great Assembly of the men of Ireland, when the Law of Adamnan was imposed upon the Gaels, and when women were liberated by Adamnan, and by Finnachta Fledach, the King of Ireland, and by the other nobles of Ireland.

This too was the first message which Patrick, son of Calpurnius, was accustomed to relate to those who were to believe in the Lord through his preaching, and who would receive his spiritual direction in the dawn of the Gospel: the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell.

The preaching most frequently done by Peter and Paul and the other apostles was this, i.e. the telling about the torments and rewards, as they were revealed to them in the same manner.

This is what Silvester, abbot of Rome, preached to Constantine, son of Helena, high king of the world in the assembly at which Rome was

given to Paul and to Peter.

Moreover, Fabian, successor of Peter, preached this to Philip, son of Gordian, the king of the Romans when he believed in the Lord, and many others believed at that time. He was the first king of the Romans who believed in the Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Line 1. forcetul no gnathaiged. There is no known tradition that Adamnan used such a vision as a "teaching unto the hosts." The author is merely trying to gain authority for his work. There is also a possibility that the author is trying to claim Roman approbation of the teachings in the vision, inasmuch as Adamnan belonged to the Roman party.

Lines 2-3: cein bui na bethaid. Adamnan died in 704.

Lines 3-4: i mmordail fer n-Erend. This assembly is supposed to have taken place at Tara in the year 697.

See Fowler, Adamnani Vita S. Columbae, p. 74.

Line 4: recht Adamnain. This "Lex Adamnani" is generally known as the Cain Adamnan. It is preserved in two

MSS: Bode. Rawl. B512, ff. 48-51, and Brussels Bibl. roy. 2324-40, pp.76-85. According to the annals it was promulgated in 697.

Line 5: diaro saertha na mna. The main purpose of this legislation was to renew St. Columba's laws protecting women from military service. Adamnan was probably the chief promoter of the law, hence its name. See W. Reeves, Life of St. Columba, Dublin 1857, p. 179.

The previous condition of women is described in the Bodleian copy of the Cain as follows:

Women were in slavery and in oppression at that time, until Adamnan, son of Ronan . . . came. The woman that was best of women had to go to battle, her wallet of food on one side of her, her baby on the other side, her lance at her back, thirty feet in height, a sickle of iron at one end thereof, the which she used to put on the tress of the other woman, into the other battle: her husband behind her, a hedge-stake in his hand, beating her to battle. (transl. WS, Fraser's Mag., 1871, pp.192-193).

Line 6: ocus la Finnachta Fledach. According to the Annals of the Four Masters, Finnachta was ard-ri of Ireland from 675 until his death in 695, and the law was not promulgated until 697. If he followed the chronology of A4M, the author has made an anachronism here. The corresponding dates of the Chronicon Scotorum are 691 for the death of Finnachta Fledach, and 693 for Adamnan's Law.

For the friendship between King Finnachta and Adamnan see Fowler, *l.c.* p. 73.

Lines 8-12. There is no special tradition about Patrick's teaching concerning heaven and hell. That such a subject was frequent sermon-matter in Patrick's missionary activities can, of course, be taken for granted. Again, the author is claiming authority for his vision.

Lines 13-16. Compare the statements made in sect. 2 for the Visions of Peter and Paul and the other Apostles. Note that here again the vision of the Apostles (including Peter and Paul) is said to be "in the same manner" (sc. "as Adamnan's"). The author is certainly trying to emphasise the unity of doctrinal teaching, and obviously connects this doctrine with the Roman Church in the next paragraph.

Lines 17-20: This refers to the so-called "Donation of Constantine", made by the emperor to Pope Sylvester I, and including the States of the Church, as well as the temporal power of the West. This "Donation" has long been known as a fiction, but it was apparently still believed by Dante:

Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu madre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre.
(*Inf.* xix, 115-117).

The city Rome is here said to be given to "Paul

and to Peter" in accordance with a legend preserved in the Martyrology of Oengus, under January 18. WS thus summarises the legend:

"Constantine sickens and is taken to the great City. Leeches prescribe the blood cure (bathing by way of his joints in 300 innocent children's blood). Peter and Paul appear to save the children, alter the treatment, order, instead, baptism and going under the hand of Abbot Silvester. The Emperor obeys, is, apparently, healed; and Rome thenceforward belongs to the two Apostles." (WS, l.c. p. 193).

According to Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 61 ff. the legend of the donation first appears in the eighth century. This fact helps establish a date "post quem" for the vision.

For the significance of the title "abb. Roma", abbot of Rome, applied to the pope, see the article by Zimmer, in Sitzber. der Königl. preussisch. Akad. der Wissensch. (philos. - hist. Kl.), 1909, pp.444 ff. P reads here Silvester papa.

Lines 21-25. Fabian, "successor of Peter" was martyred in the persecution of Decius in 249. Philip was not the son of Gordian, but his murderer. Philip the Arab came

to the throne in 244. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Chapter xvi, gives some information about his supposed conversion.

33.

Is é seo scél gnáthaiges Héli do innisín
do an-mandaib na firén, agus sé fó chrund bethad
hi pardus. Ónd úair iarom oslaices Héli in
lebor do forsetol na n-anmand tecaít and sin an-
mand inna firén i rrehtaib én nglégel chuce do 5
cach aird. Innisid dóib dano ar thús focraice
inna firén: oíbnus agus airera flatha nime agus
at forbaeltiseom in n-airet sin. Innisid immórro
dóib iar sin píana agus todernama iffirn agus
erbada lathe bratha. Agus is follus co mór gné 10
mbroin fairseom fessin agus for Enóc, conid íat
sin da brón flatha nime. Íadaid Héle iar sin
in lebor, agus ferait ind eóin nuallguba dermar
ind úair sin agus tennait a n-ette fria curpu co
tecait srotha fola estib ar ómun pían n-iffirnd 15
agus lathe brátha.

This is the subject which Elias is accus-
tomed to relate to the souls of the just while
he stands under the tree of life in Paradise.
From the time when Elias opens the book for the
instructing of the souls, the souls of the just
come there in the form of shining-white birds
(flying) towards him from every direction. First

he describes to them the rewards of the just, the delight and satisfactions of the Kingdom of Heaven, and during that time they are exceedingly joyful. However, he then tells them about the pains and torments of hell, and the evils of the day of judgment, and very clearly upon his face, and on that of Enoch is sorrow expressed, so that they are the two sorrows of the kingdom of heaven. Then Elias closes the book, and the birds utter a great cry of lament, and press their wings against their bodies, so that streams of blood come out of them due to the fear of the pains of hell, and of the day of judgment.

Lines 1-16: A complete study of the Elias and Enoch legends would require a long separate treatise. Here it will suffice to point out the probable source of the material used in FA, and to demonstrate how it was reworked to fit into the vision.

The episode from FA is also found with slight unimportant variations at the end of a homily on St. Brendan in the Book of Lismore (see WS, Lives of Saints from the

Book of Lismore, pp. 115-116 and 260-261).

In a slightly changed form it is part of a short piece entitled Da Bron Flatha Nime which is preserved in the following MSS: LU pp. 17a-18a, where the beginning is missing; Book of Leinster, pp. 280a-281a; YBL, pp. 120b-121a. Paris, BN Fonds Celtique 1, ff. 27V-28V, Book of Fermoy, pp. 114-115. These MSS were collated in the useful edition of G. Dottin (RC xxi, (1900), pp. 349-87).

The account in FA and Book of Lismore differs, in content, from the account in Da Bron Flatha Nime mainly in the explanation of why Elias and Enoch are sorrowful. In DBFN they are said to be sad for the following reasons: Ata at iarum na hanmand gela glana, etromna, aerda, tanaide impu ma ouairt for luamain ir richtaib angel. Atat-som immorro .i. Eli ocus Enoc in a corpaib criad, tromma, cep-dai, ocus na conetat comaitecht. Is bron ocus torsi mor leo-som on cen chomaitecht nan angel condat e sin da bron flatha nime (ed. Dottin, p. 376).

According to our text Elias and Enoch are sad at the thought of hell and of the judgment. This change was probably introduced into the Elias-Enoch Apocryphon to make it agree with the spirit of the vision. According to DBFN, the preaching of Elias has to do solely with consummatio mundi and the last judgment. The author of

FA has reworked the bit to enable him to include reference to heaven and hell. Though the section seems extraneous to our text, it was not loosely added. Some attempt, and a rather sensible one, was made to make it agree with what had been said before.

The following passages from the LU-version of DBFN may serve to show how the material was adapted by the author of FA:

- a. Teit didiu Hele co mbi fo chrund bethad
hi pardus ocus soscela ina laim do phrecept
dona henaib ut. Dothaegat iarom ind eoin co
mbit oc ithe chaer in chraind
Oslaicid iarom Eli iar sin in soscela. Laside
doimmaircet ind eoin a n-ette friu ocus a
cossa can scibud ette na cosse co tairic
in praicept. Laithe mbratha dano iss ed
pridhas doib .i. a ndoberar do thodernamaib
for annannaib duine dia bratha
(LU, 17a, 1356, 1363). Cf. with lines 1-5 above.
- b. Erbada tra lathe bratha iss ed pridhas
Hele amal ro raidsem, acht is bec di mor
chena ani sin. (LU, 17b, 1409-1410). Cf.
line 9 above.
- c. Amal dunas iarom in clerech a lebor, doberat
ind eoin a ngair essib, ocus tuargit a n-
ette ria toebaib co taegat a srotha fola
essib ar omon lathe bratha. (LU, 17b, 1411-
1413). Cf. with lines 12-16 above.

Comparing these passages with sect. 33 of FA reveals intentional and intelligent reworking of the material, in the latter. This provides another argument for the unity of the text. This light reworking of his materials

is a marked characteristic of the author. He never achieves a complete harmony of subject matter, but he does try to adapt his materials to his theme in a superficial way.

34.

In tan iarom is iat anmand inna náem
 díanid erdalta síraitteb flatha nímí dogníat
 in guba sin, bá dethbiri do dainib in domain
 cíantís dera fola dognetís oc erochill lathí
 brátha ocus pían n-iffirnd. Is and sin iofas 5
 in Comdiu a chommain féin fri cach nduni isin
 domun .i. fochraice dona fírenaib ocus píana
 dona peodachaib. Cuirfitir iarum amal sin in
 peodaig i fudamain péne suthaine forsa n-íadfa
 glas brethre Dé fó míscaid bretheman brátha tri 10
 bith sír. Bértair immórro ind náim ocus ind
 fireóin, lucht na deirce ocus na trócairi for
 deis Dé do bithaitteb faltha nímí, .i. áit i
 mbiat isin mórglóir sin cen áes, cen urohra,
 cen crích, cen forcend, tria bithu sír. 15

If, now, the souls of the saints, unto
 whom has been assigned an eternal dwelling in
 the kingdom of heaven, make that lament, it is
 more fitting that the men of the world should
 shed even tears of blood upon thinking of the day
 of judgment and the pains of hell. Then will the
 Lord render unto every man in the world his due,
 viz. rewards for the just, and punishments for the

sinners. Then, likewise, the sinners will be placed in the pit of eternal pain, upon which will be shut the lock of the word of God, out of the hatred of the Judge of the judgment, for ever. Moreover, the saints and the just, the people of charity and mercy, will be brought unto the right hand of God, to dwell eternally in the kingdom of heaven, i.e., a place in which they will be in that great glory, without age, without death, without end, without term, for ever.

Line 2: siraittreb flatha nimi. Note how the terms flaith nime, and pardus are used as synonyms. Later in 35 flaith is explained as cathir. This conscious exchange of terms throws some light on the relationship between sections 3-10, and sections 11-15A. In 3-10, heaven is a flaith. In 11-15A it is a cathir. It would seem that in the mind of the author flaith nime = pardus = cathir. As the dwelling of the blessed in the next life they are all synonymous terms.

Line 4: dera fola. The image is probably derived from the streams of blood flowing from the birds in section 33.

The author is intent upon making an effective simile.

Line 5: oous pian n-iffirnd. This phrase was added in keeping with the adaptation of the DBFN - material noted in section 33.

Lines 7-8: fochraice dona firenaib oous plana dona peodachaib. Note the parallel expression in section 1, lines 8-11. The phrase again follows the order of the vision.

Line 10: glas brethre De. In VPG the φρέαρ is sealed with seven seals: καὶ ἔστησέν με ἐπάνω φρέατος, ὃ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ σφραγίδας ἑπτὰ.
(Ed. Tischendorf, Apoc. Apocr., p. 61). In the VPS the well is sealed with three seals, but no explanation of them is given. SLB gives three locks and explains them as follows: Iadfaitir and sin trí glaís na peothach .i. iadad iffirn tria bith sir forru, oous iadad a sul frisín ndomun dia tartsat grad, oous iadad na flatha nemda friu.
(LU 33a, 2413-2415).

Line 12: lucht na deirce oous na trocairí. Cf. section 1, line 5.

Line 14: isin morgloir sin. For the phrase, cf. section

6, lines 14-15.

It is interesting to note, in the case of sections 33 and 34, that the author borrows freely from material referring to the day of judgment. I am inclined to think that works like SLB and SE had a definite influence on the composition of sections 1-30. This explains why the Day of Doom plays such an important part in the eschatological theory of the first thirty sections. Until doom nothing was fixed and determined in the next world. Hence we find the veil in sect. 5B, and the mur tened of section 29B occupied only by demons.

35. Is amlaid iarom atá in chathir sin .1.
 flaith cen úaill cen díummas cen goí cen éc-
 nach cen díupert cen taithleoh cen gres cen
 ruci cen mebail cen mélacht cen tnúth cen mór-
 dataid cen teidm cen galar cen bochtai cen 5
 nochtai cen díth cen díbad cen chasir cen snech-
 ta cen gáith cen fleohud cen deilm cen toraind
 cen dorche cen uardataid, flaith úasal adamra
 aererda, co suthi, co soilsí, co mbolud tíri
 láin hí fail aerer ceoh mathiusa. 10

FINIT, AMEN, FINIT.

Thus then is that city, i.e., a king-
 dom without vanity, pride, lying, detraction,
 deceit, without need for reconciliation,
 without shame, disgrace, dishonour, reproach,
 envy or arrogance.

A city without pestilence, sickness, pov-
 erty, nakedness, death, or extinction.

A city without hail, snow, wind, rain,
 noise, thunder, darkness, or cold.

A vast wonderful and pleasant kingdom,
 with joy, with brightness, with the fragrance of a
 full land, in which is the satisfaction of every

delight.

FINIT, AMEN, FINIT.

This closing section is composed rather artistically. At first reading it looks like a careless juxtaposition of negatives to form a long congeries. But upon closer examination it reveals considerable thought. Choosing to describe the celestial city first in negative terms, the author tells us of twelve ethical defects which do not exist in the Kingdom of Heaven. Lastly, we are told that there are no defects in the climate: the eight features of weather which disturb men in this world are absent in heaven. The translation has been arranged in paragraphs to bring out the structure of the original.

The section ends with a positive note, and we are reminded, by the joy, the brightness, and the fragrance, of the description of the tir na naem in sections 4 to 6. Many parallels to this section are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon version of Lactantius' De Ave Phoenice.

APPENDICES

- I. Karlsruhe Fragment of 7HA.
- II. The Seven Heavens according to CCCC 41
- III. The Irish Text of Section 30, LB-Version

APPENDIX I

The Karlsruhe Fragment of the Seven Heavens Apocryphon.

(Revue Benedictine, 1907, p.311)

Omnis roris qui descendit de austro super faciem terrae sursum ascendit in celum cum ipsum. Abottem tertium celum in medio eius fornacem ardentem. Ita constituta est altitudo flamme xii milia cupitis. anima sanctorum et peccatorum per illum veheuntur. Anima sanctorum in momento pertransit, anima vero peccatorum xii annis habitant in medio fornacem ardentem. Tunc venit angelus baiulat illius usque ad quartum celum qui vocatur iothiam ubi habitat flumini igneo et muro flumini, altitudo flumini xii milia cubitis et fluctus eius exaltatur usque ad sextum celum qui appellatur Seloth. In medio eius rotam et angelo tartarucho cum virgis ferreis percutientis rotam et inde volvitur in gyru et flumine tres ponitur homo peccator super rotam xii annis tormentatur. Centum scintille procedit de rotam et centum pondus in uno scindule et centum anime percremant. Deinde tradatur homo peccatur ad celum septimum qui vocatur Theruch, ubi dominus habitat super lapidem preciosum unde venit lux et ignis de lapide. Dominus iudicat de illo homo peccator et tradatur hunc ad angelum tartarucho. Et angelus dimergit eum in infernum. civitas ferreas et muros ferreos et xii

turres et xii dracones in uno turres et xii penis et xii flagellis ardentis.

APPENDIX II:

The Seven Heavens Apocryphon according to CCCC 41.

(Willard, Two Apocrypha, pp. 4-6.)

Donne, men þa leofestan, hwaet, her saegeþ git ford be þam siofon heofonum. Siofon heofonas sindon in gewritum leornode: þaet is, se lyftlica heofon, and se oferlyftlica, and se fyrena heofon, and se stronga heofon, þone we 'rodor' hatad, and se egeslica heofon, and engla heofon, and heofon þaere halgan Drinnisse.

Donne is þaere, dura nama þæs forman heofones Abyssus haten, þaet is, 'Deopnis'; and þaere odre dura nama is Sabaoth, þaet is, 'Weoroda Duru', for þoh englas dider ingad and manna sawla. Sanctus Michael se heahengel wealded þaere dura, and twa faemnan hi healdad mid him, þa sindon nemde Equitas and Estimatio; da habbad byrnende gyrde on hira handum.

Donne sio duru daes oferlyftlican heofones is nemned Elioth, Donne healded Sanctus Uriel þa duru, se heahengel; and da twa faemnan mid him, da sindon nemde Contentia and Contentia, and hi habbaþ fyrene girde in hira scetum mid þam hi slead da eagan para sinfulra sawla. Be þam durum

irnad fyren flod, dam is nama haten Abiersetus. Daer beod da sawla aerist dwegene and claensud swa sielfor and gold. Donne is oder flod neh pam flode, daes nama is Fons Roris, paet is on ure gepeode, 'Wednissse Flod'. Da sawla of daem byrnenda flode beod sende in disne flod, and daer biot dwegene and bebadude op daet pa wunda beod hale.

Gif hit beod dara monna sawla de sode hreowe dod hira synna, pa englas ponne laedad pa sawle to driddan dura and to dan priddan heofone; se is nemned Ioth. Daer is fyren ofen geseted; xii. pusenda faedma in heannisse se lig biot pe of dam ofne fordgæd. Ealle da sawla para soðfaestra and dara synfulra ferad purh pone lig: pa soðfaestan in anes eagan birhtme pone lig oferferad; dam sunfullan pynced lig .xii. wintra fyrst in disse worlde.

Siddan sio sawl biot laeded to daere feorðan dura, paere nama is Iohim. Daer is fyren flod irnende, and daer sind weallas ymbe pone flod; and daes flodes braedo is .xii. ðusenda faedma. And ealle da sawla dara soðfaestra and sinfulra ferad ofer pone flod; and swa io aer owaed, pa soðfaestan in anes eagan birhtme oferferad hi, and da sinfullan beot celde and cwilmde .xii. wintra lengo.

Siddan hi biot lædde to daere fiftan dura, daere noma is Inditum. Daer is flod ymbirnende, and birnende hweowol in middum daem flode ymbhweorfende, and hit soufed

da synfullan ofdune in done birnendan flod. Donne ure
 Scippend ut wile da sawla danon alisan of dam flowendan
 fyre, he sended ponne his englas mid heardum gyrðum, þa
 beod in gemete hefigran ponne stanas. Se engel slihd
 mid daere in þone byrnendan flod and aheawed da sawle up
 of þam flode; of aeghwelcum anum slege aspringed .c.
 spearoena, in aeghwylcum anum bid mannes byrden. .C.
 sawla dara synfulra sweltad and forweordad for dam spearoum.

Siddan hi biod laeded to daere sixtan dura and
 to dam sixtan heofone; þaere dura nama is Ierud. Ac ne
 bid him þær naenigu tintregu geteled ne gerimed, ac þær
 soined þæt leoht þara diorwyrþa eorolan-stana.

Siddan hi biod laeded to þam heofone and to þam
 heahsetle þaere halgan Drinnisse, and him bid þær demed.
 þær Sanctus Michael agifeod þa sawla þæra soðfaestra and (agifeod)
 þæra sinfulra. Daet is þæt se wealdend owid, 'Syllad
 þa synfullan sawla þam grimman engle to owilmianne and to
 beseocanne in helle'.

Sio helle hafad iserne weal and .xii. siðum hio
 beliet da helle; and ofer þam .xii. fealdum þara wealla
 waeron .xii. dracon fyrene. Se grimma engel sende þa
 synfullan sawla þam ytemestan dracon, and he hi forsweolged
 and eft aspiwed þam niðeran dracon; swa hira aeghwylo sended
 oðrum in mud þa sawla de biod gebundene mid þam bendum dara

eahta synna ealdorlicra. Se ytemesta draca, þæst ealdor-
deoful, se lihd gebunden on becling mid raceteage reades fyres,
to taone Cristes rode, in hellegrunde. And deah de hwylc
mon hæbbe .c. tungena and dara aeghwylc hæbbe isene stefne,
ne magon hi aseogan helle tintrego and de fulnissa dara dracena
and done singalan hungor!

APPENDIX III:

Irish Text of Section 30, LB-Version.

(Windisch, Irische Texte, pp. 190-192.)

Maire tra fil isna planaib sin i comaitreib muintiri
diabuill! Maire nateroichligend in muintir sin! Maire forsa
m-bia do thigernai demun discir denmnetach! Maire ca m-bia
do thigernai dub dian demun doescair corrlond golgairi thruag,
dichumaic toirsi thren oen toirisium sirfuacht ocus accorus
atataccu bar oen. Maire bias oc estecht fri guba coindid im
thorachtain chuocu lathi bratha co luath, dus in fuigebtis nach
n-etarfuairud isin fuigell, ar ni fagbat cumsanud co brath acht
tri huaru cecha donnaig. Maire dia m-ba do gnas files in
ferand sin tria bit sir! Is amlaid din ata in maigen sin, ocus
slehti tolla delgnecha and, muigi lomma loiscthecha, glenda
duba tentidi, tulcha ruada rogarba, lathach doimne tuilbrona,
mointe mora delgnecha, sligthi salcha sirdorcha, fera gera
rindaithe, clocha slemnu tenntide, aithe gira altnide, goetha

luatha loisctecha, gortí garba gemreta, frasa derga tentidí,
 sneхта serba sirgnathochí, goirt garb loisctech letartach,
 dorchu ina dubgemriud, fuairiu ina sirsnechtu, teou indat
 morthenti, serbiu ina neim. Lacha brena biastaidí, indsi
 fuara garba goethacha, tolla brena bruthloiscthi. Talum
 garb gainmigi, ose slemun tuitmendach, se ruad rotaidí, dub
 dorcha detfadaach, cairrcech, enocach cruadlasrach, ose aurocrom
 oigreta co reod, co caisirne amal chairroi tenntidí. Lecca
 lethna tentidí for lar in mugi sin, siat lasta loisctecha,
 con loiscted oenlece díb in domun uli. Marai mora nemnecha
 tuilbrena co n-anbthine aduathmair, co n-dracaib, co trillsib
 tened foraib, co m-biastaib eesamla archena isin muir sin,
 co cetri hernailib eesamlu tened, i. tene dub doiti detbudach,
 tene derg duaibsech lemnech letarthach langoirt, tene uaine
 aduathmar aith goirt ailtidí, tene ruad rogoirt romor co
 brothaib nemi. Slebi tened dermair dín and, cloithi derga
 romora rindaithi iarnaide andside, siat comdluthi comremra
 comrindaithe comarda, co n-drucht neme for barr cech oen chlui,
 co m-baidfed ocus co loiscted firu in talman uli neim cech
 clui díbside, co n-gairet slog dermair direccora demnu imon
 anmain n-anfechtnaig, con tairrnet leo in anmain in fudomain
 ifirnd. Co sraiglib dergaib tentidib illamaib leo, ocus coin
 lethoma lanbrena occu io a n-urail for anmindaib na peodaach,
 co fuirmed na sraigell tentide sin foraib, co n-gairet ocus co

n-grechad agus connuallat agus co n-guileat co serb goirt. Agus is at lana renda nime agus redlanda agus firmamint agus ind uli dul do nuallguba dermair dogniat anmanna na peodach for lamaib agus glaccaib inna namut nemmarbda sin, i. diabul cona doescur sluag, agus co m-berut leo iat iarsin i enoccaib. tentidib agus i n-glennaib dubaib dorchaib doimnib dermarib detfudachaib, muchna muichnig malartaig iachtaraig ifirn for leoccaib lomna loisotecha, for srothaib na tened n-ecsamail ro raidsium. Ar atat cetri srotha dermaire dar a lar, i. sruth tened toebrud, sruth snechta sirruad co leoccaib oigreta, sruth neme marbthaigi, sruth usqi dub dorcha domilis, agus is inntib-sin nos fothraicet sloig digaire na n-dennu aithli a n-oenaig agus a n-ainiusa co pianad na n-anmand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abelson, J.: The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature, London, 1912.
Jewish Mysticism, London, 1913.
- d'Ancona, Alessandro: I Precursori di Dante, Florence, 1874.
- Andrae, D. Tor: Der Ursprung des Islams und Das Christentum. Uppsala and Stockholm, 1926 (Sonderabdruck aus: Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift 1923-25).
- Andres, F: Die Engellehre der Griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts und Ihr Verhältnis zur Griechisch-Römischen Dämonenlehre, in Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte, Band 12, Heft 3, Paderborn, 1914.
- Anrich, G.: Das Antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum, Göttingen, 1894.
"Clemens und Origenes als Begründer der Lehre vom Fegfeuer", Theologische Abhandlungen für H. Holzmann, Tübingen, 1902, pp. 97-120.
- Anz, W.: Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus, Leipzig, 1897 (TU 15.4).
- Archambault, G.: Justin. Dialogue avec Tryphon. Texte grec, traduction français, 2 vols., Paris, 1909.
- Asin-Palacios, D. Miguel: La Escatologia Musulmana en La Divina Comedia, Madrid, 1919.
El Islam Cristianizado, Madrid, 1931.
El Místico Murciano Abenarabi, Madrid, 1925-1928.
- Atzberger, A.: Geschichte der Christlichen Eschatologie innerhalb der Vornicänischen Zeit, Munich, 1896.

- Aubert, J.: Cyrilli Opera . . . Omnia, Tomus Decimus, Homiliae et epistolae, MPG LXXVII, Paris, 1859.
- Barnard, P.M.: Clement of Alexandria: "Quis Dives Salvetur", Cambridge 1897 (TS V. 2).
- Baudissin, W.W.: Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte, Bande I - II, Berlin, 1936.
- Becker, E.J.: A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special Reference to the Middle English Versions, Baltimore, 1899.
- Bension, Ariel: The Zohar, London, 1932.
- Bertholet, A.: Hesekiel, Tübingen, 1936 (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, 1. Reihe, 13).
- Best, R.I., and Bergin, Osborn: Lebor na Huidre, Book of the Dun Cow, Dublin, RIA, 1929.
- Bey, Emin: Studi storico-donnatici sulla Chiesa Giacobita-Copta, London, 1890.
- Bidez, J. and Cumont, F.: Les Mages Hellénisés, Zoroastre, Ostanès, Hystaspe, d'après la tradition grecque, 2 vols., Paris 1938.
- Bloch, E.: Les Sources Orientales de la Divine Comédie, Paris, 1901.
- Boklen, E.: Die Verwandtschaft der Jüdisch-Christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1902.
- Bonwetsch, G.N.: Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs, Das Sogenannte Slavische Henochbuch, Leipzig, 1922 (TU 44.2).
- Boswell, C.S.: An Irish Precursor of Dante, London, 1908 (Grimm Library, No. 18).

- Bousset, Wilhelm: Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, Göttingen, 1907. (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 7). Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter, 3. Auflage, von H. Grossmann, Tübingen, 1926.
- Box, G.H., and Oesterley, W.O.E.: A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism, London, 1920.
- Brandes, Hermann: Visio Sancti Pauli, Halle, 1885.
- Brandt, A.J.H.: Die Mandäische Religion, Leipzig, 1889. "Das Schicksal der Seele nach dem Tode nach mandäischen und parsischen Vorstellungen", Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie, XVIII, (1892) pp. 405-438; 575-603. Mandäische Schriften, Göttingen, 1893.
- Broek-Utne, A.: Der Gottesgarten, eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Studie, Oslo, 1936.
- de Bruyne, Donatien: "Fragments retrouvés d'Apocryphes Priscillianistes", Revue Benedictine, July 1907, pp. 318-335.
- Budde, K.: "Der Baum der Erkenntnis", ZDMG, 1933, pp. 101 sqq.
- Budge, E.A.W.: Books on Egypt and Chaldea, Vols. VI to VIII: The Book of the Dead, London, 1901.
- Cabrol, Fern.: Les Églises de Jérusalem, la Discipline et la Liturgie au IVe Siècle, Paris, 1895.
- Carnoy, A.J.: Iranian Mythology (Mythology of All Races VI), Boston, 1917.
- Chaine, Marius: Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Aethiopici, Series Prima, Tomus VII, Romae, 1909.

Charles, R. H.

The Book of Enoch, Oxford, 1912,
The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament in English,
2 Vols., Oxford, 1913.
A Critical and Exegetical Comment-
ary on the Revelation of Saint
John, 2 vols., International Critical
Commentary, Edinburgh, 1920.

Cohn, L. and
Wendland, P.:

Philonis Alexandrini Opera Quae Super-
sunt, Berlin and Leipzig, 1896-1930.

Cumont, Franz:

Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs
aux Mystères de Mithra, 2 vols.,
Bruxelles, 1898-1899.
Afterlife in Roman Paganism, Newhaven, 1922.
Les Religions Orientales dans le
Paganisme Romain, 4e. Ed., Paris, 1929.
L'Egypte des Astrologues, Bruxelles, 1937.
Lux Perpetua, Paris, 1949.

Darmesteter, J. and
Mills, L.W.:

Avesta I-III, in Sacred Books of the
East, vol. 4, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1895;
vols. 23 and 31, Oxford, 1883.

Dhorme, E.P.:

Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-
Babyloniens, Paris, 1907.

Dieterich, Albrecht:

Nekyia, Beiträge zur Erklärung der
Neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse,
Leipzig, 1893.
Eine Mithrasliturgie, Leipzig, 1910.

Dombart, Th.:

Der Sakraltum, I. Teil: Zikkurat,
München, 1920.

Dottin, George:

"Les Deux Chagrins du Royaume du
Ciel", RC XXI (1900), pp. 349-387.
"Notes Bibliographiques sur l'ancienne
littérature chrétienne de l'Irlande",
Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature
Religieuses V (1900), pp. 162-167.

Dudley, Louise:

Egyptian Elements in the Legend of
the Body and the Soul, Baltimore, 1911.

- Dyovuniotis, C.: Ἡ μέση κατάσταση τῶν ψυχῶν, Athens, 1904.
- Erman, Ad.: Die Religion der Aegypter, Berlin-Leipzig, 1934.
- Faye, E. de: Gnostiques et Gnosticisme, 2e. Ed., Paris, 1925.
- de Felice, Ph.: L'Autre Monde, Paris, 1906.
- Forster, W.: Von Valentin zu Herakleon. Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Entwicklung der valentinianischen Gnosis, Giessen, 1928 (ZNTW, Beiheft 7).
- Fowler, J.T.: Adamnani Vita S. Columbae, ed. from Dr. Reeve's Text, with an Introduction on Early Irish Church History, Notes and a Glossary, Oxford, 1920.
- Friedel, V.H., and Meyer, Kuno: La Vision de Tondale. Textes Français, Anglo-Normand, et Irlandais, Paris, 1907.
- Funk, Fr. X.: Patres Apostolici, Vol. I, Berlin, 1901 (2nd edition), (Clementine Epistles).
- Gaerte, W.: "Kosmische Vorstellungen im Bilde prähistorischer Zeit: Erdberg, Himmelsberg, Erdnabel und Weltenstrom", Anthropos, 1914, pp. 956 ff.
- Gall, August Freiherrn von: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ Heidelberg, 1926.
- Gaster, M.: "Hebrew Visions of Heaven and Hell", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1893, pp. 571 ff.
Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology, 3 vols., London, 1925-1928.
- Geldner, K.F.: Die Zoroastrische Religion, Das Avesta, Tübingen, 1926.

- Gibbon, Edward: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. J.B. Bury, 7 vols., London, 1897-1902.
- Goldschmidt, Laz.: Der Babylonische Talmud, nach der ersten, zensurfreien Bombergischen Ausgabe . . . , Berlin and Leipzig, 1897-1912, 8 vols., large quarto. Text, Variants, Translations. References are cited by tractate, page (folium), and side, according to the third edition of Bomberg, Venice, 1548, e.g. Yoma 77a.
- Gougaud, L.: Les Chrétientés Celtiques, Paris, 1911. Pages 260-266, "Les Apocryphes".
- Graf, Arturo: Miti Leggende, e Superstizioni del Medio Evo, Torino, 1892-1893.
- Greith, Carl J.: Geschichte der Altirischen Kirche, Freiburg i. Br., 1867.
- Gressmann, H.: Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1905.
- Gunkel, H.: "Turmbau", RGK, V², Col. 1325 sqq.
- Haug, Martin, and West, E.W.: The Book of Arda Viraf. The Pahlavi Text Prepared by Destur Hoshangji Jamaspij Asa. Revised and collated with further MSS, with an English translation, and an appendix . . ., Bombay and London, 1872.
Essays on the Sacred Languages, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, London, 1878.
- Heiler, Friederich: Urkirche und Catkirche, München, 1937
(Die Katholische Kirche des Ostens und Westens, Band I).
- Heine-Geldern, R.: "Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien", Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst - und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, IV, Wien, 1930.
- Hellmann, Siegmund: Pseudo-Cyprianus De XII Abusivis Saeculi, Leipzig, 1909 (TU XXIV.1).

- Hennecke, Edgar: Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, in Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten, in deutscher Übersetzung und mit Einleitungen. Tübingen und Leipzig, 1904.
- Hommel, Fr.: Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit, München, 1901
- Hopfner, Th.: Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber, 1.2, Leipzig, 1921, 1924.
- Horovitz, Jos.: Das Koranische Paradies, Jerusalem, 1923.
- Ibn Arabi (Abenarabi): Al-Futuh al-Makkiya, Cairo, 1329. See under Asin-Palacios.
- Issaverdens, Jacques: The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament, Venice, Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1901.
- Jackson, K.H.: A Celtic Miscellany, London, 1951.
- Jacob, B.: Das Erste Buch der Thorah, Genesis, Berlin, 1934.
- James, M.R.: The Testament of Abraham. The Greek Text . . . with an Introduction and Notes, with an Appendix containing Extracts from the Arabic Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by W.E. Barnes, Cambridge, 1892 (TS, II.2).
Apocrypha Anecdota (I): A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments, Cambridge, 1893 (TS II.3).
Apocrypha Anecdota II, Cambridge 1897, (TS V.1).
"Irish Apocrypha", JTS XX (1918), pp.9-16.
The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924.
- Jastrow, M.: Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens, Giessen, 1912.
Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, London, 191
- Jellinek, Ad.: בית המדרש. Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und Vermischter Abhandlungen aus

- der alteren jüdischen Literatur.
Nach Handschriften und Druckwerken
 gesammelt und nebst Einleitung heraus-
 gegeben, I-IV, Leipzig 1853-57; V, VI,
 Wien 1873-1877. Photostatic repro-
 duction, Jerusalem, 1938. Cited in
 the course of the Commentary by BH
 (Beth hammidras).
- Jeremias, J.:
Der Gottesberg, Ein Beitrag zum Ver-
 ständnis der biblischen Symbolsprache,
 Gutersloh, 1919.
- Jugie, M.:
"La Doctrine des Fins Dernières
 dans l'Eglise Gréco-Russe", Echos
 d'Orient, XVII (1914-1915), pp. 1-22;
 209-228; 402-241.
 Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum
 Orientalium ab Ecclesia Dissidentium,
 4 vols., Paris, 1926-1931.
- Karpeles, G.:
Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur,
 2 vols., Berlin, 1920.
- Kautzsch, E.:
Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen
 des Alten Testaments, I-II, Tübingen,
 1921 (Reprint).
- Kees, H.:
Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen
 der Alten Aegypter, Leipzig, 1926.
- Keil, C.F.:
Bibl. Kommentar über den Propheten
 Ezechiel, Leipzig, 1882.
- Kenney, James F.:
The Sources for the Early History of
 Ireland, Vol. I: Ecclesiastical,
 New York, 1929.
- Kittel, Rudolph:
Biblia Hebraica, adjuvantibus Baum-
 gartner, Beer, Begrich, Bewer, Buhl,
 Hempel, Horst, Noth, Procksch, Quell,
 Robinson, Rudolph, Schraeder, edidit
 Rud. Kittel; Textum Massoreticum
 curavit P. Kahle, Editio Quarta,
 Stuttgartiae, 1949.
- Koetschau, Paul.:
(ed), Origenes Werke, V. Band: De
 Principiis, Leipzig, 1913.

- König, Ed.: Die Genesis, 3. Aufl., Gütersloh, 1925.
- Kopp, Cl.: Glaube und Sakramente der Koptischen Kirche, Rome, 1932 (Orientalia Christiana, 35.1).
- Kraetzschmar, R.: Das Buch Ezechiel, Göttingen, 1900 (Nowack's Handkommentar zum A.T., III, 3,1).
- Kroll, Joseph: Gott und Hölle, Leipzig, 1932 (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XX).
- Leisegang, H.: Die Gnosis, Leipzig, 1924.
- Lewis, Agnes Smith: Apocrypha Syriaea: The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae, London, 1902 (Studia Sinaitica, No. XI).
- Lidzbarski, M.: Das Johannesbuch der Mandaer, I. Teil: Text, Giessen, 1905; II. Teil: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Giessen, 1915.
Ginza, Der Schatz, oder Das Grosse Buch der Mandaer, Göttingen und Leipzig, 1925.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst: Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Tübingen, 1926 (Handbuch z. NT, Lietzmann, IV.4).
- Masse, Henri: Croyances et Coutumes Persanes, 2 vols., Paris, 1938.
- Meyer, Kuno, and Nutt, Alfred: The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living.
Vol. 1: The Happy other World, 1895;
Vol. 2: The Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth, 1897 (Grimm Library, Nos. 4,6).
- Meyer, Kuno: "The Vision of Laisrén", Otia Merseiana I (1900) pp. 113-119.
- Meyer, P.: "La Descente de S. Paul aux Enfers", Romania XXIV (1895), pp. 360 ff.
- Mohlenbrink, Kurt: Der Tempel Salomos, Eine Untersuchung seiner Stellung in der Sakralarchitektur des Alten Orients, Stuttgart, 1932.

- Morfill, W.R., and Charles, R.H.: The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, Oxford, 1896.
- Muller, F. Max: Rig-Veda-Sanhita, The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, ed. F. Max Müller, 6 vols., London 1849-1874.
- Muller-Lisowski, Kate: "Texte zur Mog Ruith Sage", ZCP, XIV (1923), pp. 145-163.
- Mussafia, A.: "Sulla Visione di Tundalo", Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl., Wien, 1871.
- Oakley, T.P.: English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in Their Joint Influence, New York, 1923.
- Odeberg, Hugo: 3 Enoch, or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, Cambridge, 1928.
- van Os, Arnold Barel: Religious Visions, Amsterdam, 1932.
- Pallis, Svend Aage: Mandaean Studies, Oxford University Press, London, 1919.
- Petermann, H.: Thesaurus sive Liber magnus, vulgo Liber Adami appellatus, opus Mandaeorum summi ponderis, descripsit et edidit H. Petermann, Tomus I textum continens: pars 1 sive dextra, pars 2 sive sinistra, Lipsiae, 1867.
- Plummer, Charles: Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 2 vols., Oxford, 1896.
Lives of Irish Saints, Oxford, 1922.
- Potter, J.: Clementis Alexandrini Opera Quae Extant, 2 vols., Oxford, 1715.
- Preuschen, E.: Die Apokryphen Gnostischen Adam-Schriften, Giessen, 1900.
- Pritchard, James B.: Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, Princeton, New Jersey, 1950. "Inanna's Descent to the Underworld", pp.52-57.

Procksch, Otto:

Die Genesis Übersetzt und Erklärt,
Leipzig, 1913 (Sellin's Kommentar
zum Alten Testament).

Rajewski, Mich.:

Euchologion der orthodox-katholischen
Kirche, 3 Bände, Wien, 1861. A
translation of the Euchologion.

Reeves, William:

Life of Saint Columba, Irish Archae-
ological and Celtic Society, Dublin, 185

Ritson, Jos.:

Ancient Songs from the Time of
King Henry the Third to the Re-
volution, London, 1790. "The Dead
Man's Song" is found on pages 286-294.

Rohde, Erwin.:

Psyche, Tübingen, 1925, (10th Ed.).

Roy, Protap Chandra:

The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana
Vyasa, Translated into English Prose,
16 vols., Calcutta, 1884-1896.

Scheftelowitz, J.:

Die Altpersische Religion und das
Judentum, Giessen, 1920.

Schmidt, C.:

Gnostische Schriften in koptischer
Sprache aus dem Codex Bruonianus,
Leipzig, 1892. (TU 8.1-2.).
Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern
nach der Auferstehung, Leipzig, 1919.

Schrader, Eb.:

Die Keilinschriften und das Alte
Testament, 3. Auflage, neu bearbeitet
von H. Zimmern und H. Winckler,
Berlin, 1903.

Seeberg, R.:

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,
3. Auflage, Bände I-V, Leipzig-
Erlangen, 1920-1933.

Seymour, St. John D.:

"The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland,"
PRIA, XXXVI (1922), sect. C, pp. 121-133.
"The Signs of Doomsday in the Saltair
na Rann", PRIA XXXVI (1923), sect. C,
pp. 154-163.
"The Seven Heavens in Irish Literature",
ZCP XIV (1923), pp. 18-30.

Seymour, St. John D.:

"The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church", ZCP XIV (1923), pp. 179-211.
 "The Vision of Adamnan", PRIA XXXVII (1927), sect. C, pp. 304-312.
Irish Visions of the Other-World, A Contribution to the Study of Medieval Visions, London, SPCK, n.d. (First published 1930).

Stahlin, Otto:

Clemens Alexandrinus: Protrepticus und Paedagogus (I. Band); Stromata I - VI (II. Band). Leipzig, 1905-1906. (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte).

Stokes, Margaret:

Three Months in the Forests of France, London, 1895. Contains, on pp. 265-279, a revision of the translation of Adamnan previously given by WS in Fraser's Mag.

Stokes, Whitley:

Fis Adamnain Slicht Libair na Huidre, Simla, 1870.
 "Adamnan's Vision", Fraser's Magazine, February 1871, pp. 184-194.
 "Tidings of Doomsday, An Early Middle Irish Homily", RC IV (1880), pp. 245-257.
Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore, Oxford, 1890.
 "The Second Vision of Adamnan", RC XII (1891), pp. 420-442.
 "Tidings of the Resurrection", RC XXV (1904), pp. 232-259.
 "The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics", RC XXVI (1905), pp. 130-170.
 "Three Legends from The Brussel's Manuscript 5100-4." RC XXVI (1905), pp. 360-377.

Stokes, Whitley, and Strachan, John:

Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, 2 vols., London, 1901, 1903.

Strack, Hermann L.:

Einleitung in Talmud und Midras, München, 1921, (5th Edition).

Tennant, F.R.:

The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin, Cambridge, 1903.

Thilo, G. and
Hagen, H.:

Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii, 3 vols., Leipzig, Vol. I (anastatice) 1922; Vol. II (anastatice) 1922; Vol. III, 1887.

Tischendorff, C.:

Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio, Additis Evangeliorum et Actuum Apocryphorum Supplementis, Lipsiae, 1866. Evangelia Apocrypha, Editio Secunda, Lipsiae, 1876.

Vendryes, J.:

"Aislingthi Adhamnain, d'après le texte du manuscrit de Paris." RC XXX (1909), pp. 349-383.

Vlieger, A. de:

The Origin and the Early History of the Coptic Church, Lausanne, 1900.

Volz, Paul:

Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903.

de Vuippens, I.:

Le Paradis Terrestre au Troisième Ciel, Paris-Fribourg, 1925.

Wagner, A.:

Visio Thugdali, Lateinisch und Altdeutsch, Erlangen, 1882.

Ward, H.L.D.:

Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum, 3 vols., London, 1883-1910. Vol. 3, pp. 397-515: Visions of Heaven and Hell.

Warren, F.E.:

The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, Oxford, 1881.

Waszink, J.H.:

Tertulliani De Anima, Edited with Introduction and Commentary, Amsterdam, 19

Watkins, O.D.:

History of Penance, 2 vols., London, 1920. Vol. II: The Western Church from 450 to 1215.

- Weniger, Ludwig.: "Feralis Exercitus", ARW 9 (1906), pp. 201-247.
- van Wesendonk, O.G.: Das Weltbild der Iranier, München, 1933 (Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen I, A).
- West, E.W.: Pahlavi Texts I-V, in Sacred Books of the East, vols. 8, 18, 24, 37, 47, Oxford, 1880 sqq.
- Willard, Rudolph.: Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies, Leipzig, 1935 (Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, XXX).
- Williams-Jackson, A.V.: Researches in Manichaeism, New York, 1912.
- Windisch, Ernst: Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1880.
- Wolff, M.: Muhammedanische Eschatologie, Leipzig, 1872.
- Wright, T.: Saint Patrick's Purgatory, London, 1844. Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, Collected and Edited from Syriac MSS in the British Museum, London, 1865.